NOVEMBER 6, 2017

TIME

THE WRECKING CREW

HOW TRUMP'S CABINET IS DISMANTLING GOVERNMENT AS WE KNOW IT

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The Chevrolet Sonic, Chevrolet Tahoe, Chevrolet Silverado HD and Chevrolet Camaro received the highest numerical scores in their respective segments in the J.D. Power 2017 U.S. Vehicle Dependability Study, based on responses from 35,186 U.S. original owners of 2014 model-year vehicles after three years of ownership about problems experienced in the past 12 months, surveyed in October–December 2016. The Chevrolet Malibu, Chevrolet Equinox, Chevrolet Silverado HD and Chevrolet Camaro received the highest numerical scores in their respective segments in the J.D. Power 2016 U.S. Vehicle Dependability Study, based on responses from 33,560 U.S. original owners of 2013 model-year vehicles after three years of ownership about problems experienced in the past 12 months, surveyed in October–December 2015. Your experiences may vary. Visit jdpower.com.

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CHEVROLET

TIME
VOL. 190, NO. 19 | 2017

4 | Conversation
6 | For the Record

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

7 | Mao to **Xi:** China enshrines "Xi Jinping Thought" in its constitution

8 | In **Niger,** the U.S. works to root out terrorist groups

9 | Czechs elect Trump-like leader, **Andrej Babis**

10 | How Japan's **Shinzo Abe** must lead now

14 | A view of the eight options for a U.S.-Mexico **border wall**

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

17 | Esther Perel's new book tries to **rethink infidelity**

18 | Looking back at the history of **pink**

19 | Why an **underwater** eatery could help marine science

19 | Origins of **trick-or-treating**

19 | Laying out the arguments for and against disclosing online-ad buyers on **Facebook** and **Google**

20 | Finding a new use for diseased **hearts**

The Features

Trump's Demolition Crew
Forget the President's feuds. His Cabinet is busy rewriting the rules of government
By Massimo Calabresi, Justin Worland, Tessa Berenson, Stuart Taylor Jr. and Fatima Goss Graves **22**

The End of the Caliphate
The fall of Raqqa in Syria leaves ISIS no longer in control of a major city in Iraq or Syria and closer to defeat as a conventional military force
By Jared Malsin **34**

Put Down the Phone
Recent data on rising depression rates makes a case for dialing back kids' smartphone use
By Markham Heid **42**

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

49 | Debut memoir by **Jenna Bush Hager** and **Barbara Bush**

52 | Upon the release of her latest anthology, **Annie Leibovitz** reflects on photographing **Stephen Hawking**

56 | From Sweden: Cannes winner ***The Square*** hits theaters

57 | Fun with soul: Kelly Clarkson's ***Meaning of Life***

59 | Years of social anxiety inspire **Joel Stein** to get tested

60 | 5 Questions for writer **Wendell Berry**

A man in the stands of a stadium that ISIS turned into a jail, on Oct. 20 in the now liberated Syrian city of Raqqa

Photograph by Emanuele Satolli for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Illustration by Edel Rodriguez for TIME*

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What you said about ...

THE GODDESS MYTH Claire Howorth's Oct. 30 cover story on the high expectations that new moms face won praise from Mount Pleasant, Mich., obstetrician Robin O'Dell, who said she would be sharing it with her patients. And Pritish De of Waukesha, Wis., wrote that the story was timely, given the way social media amplifies "pressure to be a perfect mother." The cover image, however, drew mixed reactions. David Beckman of Onalaska, Wis., wrote that the photograph by Erik Madigan Heck captured "the profound intimacy of motherhood," but Susan Berg of Port Jefferson, N.Y., argued that the image only further fuels the goddess myth the article tackles by showing a "perfect, unblemished, ideal" nude figure of a "'natural' mother."

> 'Ladies, do whatever works for you. Enjoy your baby without worry.'
>
> **PEGGY FASANO**, Northbrook, Ill.

'ME TOO' Laurie Penny's Oct. 30 essay on the #MeToo social-media campaign—sparked by the revelation of sexual-harassment allegations against producer Harvey Weinstein—prompted Twitter user @dianamackin2 to note that "it sure feels like sisterhood when women share their truths." But Lisa Harrison of Lansing, Mich., saw the campaign as "a little late" given her impression that many in Hollywood stayed silent about abuse until they "got what [they] wanted in fame and fortune." Meanwhile, Lucinda Budzynski of Lumberton, N.J., noted that Penny's article "could relate to any number of problems current today" in its analysis of what goes into the decision to speak out. "Oppression, control, power, bigotry, racism, brutality," she wrote. "They are all ugly, and they all just blur."

> 'I have no doubt whatsoever there are millions of us. No one can silence us!'
>
> **CARA MARIE JONES**, Victoria, Texas

Back in TIME

Kids Online
May 10, 1999

New research explores the health risks of kids' smartphone use *(page 42)*, adding another factor to parental concern about digitally connected children—a concern almost as old as the Internet itself. In 1999, TIME predicted that the "uncontainable presence" of online interactions meant those worries would likely continue to grow. "The Internet lets a million flowers bloom," the story noted, "and a million weeds." Read the full story at **time.com/vault**

BEST MOVIES FOR HALLOWEEN
On TIME.com, find a list of 25 films to get you in the Halloween spirit. Below are the ones that came out in 2017. The full list—for those who dare—can be found at **time.com/25-halloween-movies**

- **GET OUT** Jordan Peele's socially conscious, critically acclaimed thriller
- **HAPPY DEATH DAY** The *Groundhog Day*–style slasher that's become a sleeper hit
- **IT** The new film adaptation of the classic Stephen King novel
- **IT COMES AT NIGHT** A horror movie in which fear spreads (and so does a plague)
- **MOTHER!** An ambitious and ambiguous thriller starring Jennifer Lawrence, Javier Bardem and a creepy old house

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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT
In "When Millennials Rule" (Oct. 23), we misstated the year that Democrats held the fewest number of seats in Congress. Democrats had fewer seats in the 114th Congress (2015–17) than in any Congress since the 80th Congress (1947–49).

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HURRY! OFFER ENDS SOON

‘MR. PRESIDENT, I RISE TODAY TO SAY: ENOUGH.’

JEFF FLAKE, Republican Senator from Arizona, announcing he won’t run for re-election in 2018 in an unusually candid speech on the Senate floor denouncing President Trump’s “undignified” behavior and the “complicit” Republican Party leadership

‘He risked his life for our country, why can’t you remember his name?’

MYESHIA JOHNSON, widow of Army Sergeant La David Johnson, who was killed in an ambush in Niger, confirming Representative Frederica Wilson’s account of the condolence call from President Trump, who tweeted that he said La David’s name “without hesitation”

‘This may not be the first time we go to jail.’

JOSHUA WONG, pro-democracy activist, maintaining his commitment to standing up to communist suppression after Hong Kong’s highest court released him and fellow activist Nathan Law on bail to appeal their prison sentences for their roles in organizing the 2014 pro-democracy protests

Nemi
A stolen mosaic from one of Caligula’s Lake Nemi ships was returned to Italy

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Nemo
The French President’s dog interrupted a meeting by urinating on a fireplace in the Élysée Palace

‘Am I mad at God? Yes, I’m mad at God.’

BILL O’REILLY, former Fox News anchor, after the New York *Times* reported that O’Reilly had settled a sexual-harassment claim for $32 million last January and got a new contract shortly after

11

Number of **Twitter users that KFC follows to represent the 11 herbs and spices in its chicken,** including six men named Herb and the five former Spice Girls

238

Number of **proposals for Amazon’s second headquarters** submitted by North American cities and regions

$166,000

Winning bid for an unsent letter dated April 13, 1912, the day before the *Titanic* hit an iceberg

‘I’m now the most humorous person in the world.’

DAVID LETTERMAN, comedian, accepting the Mark Twain Prize for American Humor at the Kennedy Center

SOURCES: CNN MONEY; GOOD MORNING AMERICA; HENRY ALDRIDGE & SON; NEW YORK TIMES; REUTERS; HONG KONG FREE PRESS

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief

'SHINZO ABE NOW HAS TIME TO PLAY THE LONG GAME.' —PAGE 10

President Xi of China, center, flanked by new members of the Politburo's Standing Committee, on Oct. 25

EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

WORLD

Xi declares China will be as dominant as he now is

By Charlie Campbell/ Beijing

FIRST HE SHOOK THE HAND OF JIANG Zemin, China's 91-year-old former leader. Then Xi Jinping, newly reaffirmed as Chinese President for another five years, strode down the ranks of top cadres seated onstage at Beijing's Great Hall of the People on Oct. 24, sharing congratulations on the culmination of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

What made the day truly historic, however, was Xi's new position among more exalted leaders. Upon having his personal philosophy etched into the national constitution—as "Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism With Chinese Characteristics for a New Era"—Xi joins Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping in the pantheon of modern China's most powerful men.

In the years since Mao founded the People's Republic in 1949, no leader since the Great Helmsman himself has been consecrated by name in the constitution while alive. ("Deng Xiaoping Theory" was appended only as a posthumous honor to the architect of China's economic revival.) Xi joins Mao on Mount Olympus at a time when China boasts the world's second biggest economy and is extending its global influence. If Mao's era gave birth to the People's Republic and Deng's made the nation rich, then Xi's "new era" aims to transform it into the world's predominant superpower.

"It's the coronation of Emperor Xi," says Professor Nick Bisley, an Asia expert at Australia's La Trobe University. "He is without question the paramount leader and one with a remarkably ambitious vision for China."

PHOTOGRAPH BY HOW HWEE YOUNG

That vision reaches far beyond the country's borders. Whereas previous Chinese leaders would smilingly play down the world's most populous nation as "developing" or "poor," Xi unashamedly called China a "great power" or "strong power" 26 times in his opening speech. "Our party shows strong, firm and vibrant leadership. Our socialist system demonstrates great strength and vitality," the 64-year-old said. "The Chinese people and Chinese nation embrace brilliant prospects."

He has ramped up the construction and militarization of islands in the South China Sea and opened China's first overseas military base in Djibouti. His signature Belt and Road Initiative—repaving the ancient Silk Road through a trade and infrastructure network across Eurasia and Africa—was also added to the constitution on Oct. 24, indicating its critical place in his thinking. His "new era," Xi said, will be one "that sees China moving closer to center stage."

At home, Xi wants to tighten party control over society. Already, he has reactivated 77,000 smaller party branches while locking up critics and tightening censorship. But Xi also wants to loosen state control on the economy so China can avoid the dreaded "middle-income trap," in which a rising economy plateaus indefinitely. To do so, he must clip the wings of China's mammoth state-owned enterprises, which helped propel its export-led growth for close to four decades but risk becoming a millstone. Xi's economic reforms have fizzled so far, Bisley says, "but by making himself the unrivaled center of power, he's got a better platform for making these other reforms stick."

The purging of senior officials and generals during Xi's first term as he pursued an antigraft campaign demonstrated that he was not a leader to be crossed. Now that his personal dogma is enshrined in the nation's bedrock charter, challenging him could even be considered seditious. On Oct. 25, Xi gave the strongest indication yet that he intends to stay in power after his second and final mandated term ends in 2022, by declining to appoint any younger cadres to the seven-member Politburo Standing Committee. According to convention, two heirs apparent below the age of 58 should be blooded for five years before assuming the top posts of President and Premier. The few remaining possibilities may have shied away from the limelight, putting self-preservation above any lingering political ambition. "Xi Jinping has no intention of relinquishing power," says Professor Steve Tsang, director of the SOAS China Institute at the University of London. "So why would you put your head on the chopping block? That's just about the most dangerous place in Chinese politics." On this evidence, the Xi era may have only just begun. —*With reporting by* YANG SIQI/BEIJING

TICKER

Arizona's Jeff Flake to quit Senate

Republican Senator Jeff Flake of Arizona announced he would not seek re-election next year. In a speech on the Senate floor, Flake condemned President Donald Trump, calling his behavior "reckless, outrageous and undignified" and "dangerous to democracy" and saying he would "not be complicit." Flake joins Republican Senator Bob Corker of Tennessee, also not seeking re-election, in challenging Trump in recent weeks.

Nicaragua signs Paris climate pact

Nicaragua signed the Paris Agreement, leaving the U.S. and Syria as the only countries yet to give the accord their support. The Central American nation's leaders had previously refused to sign the pact because they felt it did not do enough to protect the climate. President Trump decided to withdraw the U.S. from the accord in June.

Einstein happiness note sells for $1.56M

A handwritten note about happiness written by Albert Einstein sold for $1.56 million at an auction in Jerusalem after a 25-minute bidding war. The Nobel-winning scientist scribbled the note to a bellboy in Tokyo in 1922 when he did not have cash to pay a tip.

TERRORISM

The U.S. role in defending Niger

The death of four U.S. troops in Niger in an ambush by Islamic militants on Oct. 4 has turned into a major dispute, as lawmakers in Washington question the nature of the mission. Here, why U.S. troops are in the West African country. —*Tara John*

Killed in the line of duty

VULNERABLE NATION
One of the world's poorest countries and more than 80% covered by the Sahara, Niger shares ill-defined borders with Libya, Mali and Nigeria and is vulnerable to spillover of terrorist activity by extremist groups.

EXTREMIST THREAT
While ISIS-affiliated Boko Haram has run riot in Nigeria, Niger has seen more activity from splinter groups such as the Islamic State of the Sahel, thought to be behind the Oct. 4 attack, and al-Qaeda's North African affiliate, which has launched assaults and kidnappings. General Joseph Dunford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said on Oct. 23 that ISIS is "leveraging" local insurgencies in Niger.

YEARS OF HELP
Niger relies on military assistance from France and the U.S. to defend itself, and the U.S. has been in Niger intermittently for more than 20 years. As many as 800 troops are deployed in the country to advise and train local forces. The U.S. also maintains drone bases in Niger.

DIGITS

400

Estimated number of mysterious stone structures discovered in the desert of Saudi Arabia with the help of Google Earth's satellite imagery; the so-called gates were built about 9,000 years ago, and their purpose and function remain unknown

TERRORISM: AP/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; DIGITS: CNES/AIRBUS/GOOGLE EARTH; BABIS: DAVID W. CERNY—REUTERS

FLAME ON Greek presidential guards, known as Evzones, walk around the ancient Temple of Hera in Olympia during the Oct. 24 lighting ceremony of the Olympic flame ahead of the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics in South Korea. The flame will tour Greece before being flown to the South Korean city of Incheon on Oct. 31 for a torch relay that will culminate in the opening ceremony on Feb. 9, 2018. *Photograph by Aris Messinis—AFP/Getty Images*

SPOTLIGHT

The 'Czech Trump' whose victory is rattling Europe

THE CZECH REPUBLIC'S SECOND RICHEST MAN, Andrej Babis, is set to become Prime Minister after his ANO party came out on top in the Oct. 20–21 parliamentary election. Here's what to know about the populist billionaire often compared to President Donald Trump:

THE TYCOON The son of a communist Slovak diplomat made his billions through an agrochemical empire built from the spoils of the Soviet Union's collapse. He founded ANO (*Yes* in Czech) in 2011, and it became the second largest party in Parliament in 2013 after running on an anticorruption ticket. One of his country's biggest newspaper owners, Babis has been accused of using his media properties to smear critics and gain influence.

THE POPULIST Having initially won support on his pro-business credentials, Babis positioned himself as an ethno-nationalist in 2016. As Europe continued to struggle with the migrant crisis, he won support by calling Middle Eastern refugees "security risks" who would "destroy European culture."

THE MANAGER Like Trump, the 63-year-old won by tapping into popular discontent. And like East European leaders in Hungary and Poland, he opposes deeper E.U. integration—but out of a dislike of bureaucracy rather than for ideological reasons. He says he wants to run the Czech Republic more like a business, even though the country's current 3% unemployment rate is Europe's lowest and its growth rate is a respectable 2.5%. Asked recently if he was similar to the U.S. President, Babis demurred: "I was never bankrupt." —TARA JOHN

‹Andrej Babis has a fortune estimated at $4 billion

DATA

BABIES FROM ABROAD

The number of adoptions from other countries by Americans declined in fiscal year 2016, according to the State Department. Here, a sample of countries where international adoptees came from in 2016:

2,231
China

360
Democratic Republic of Congo

156
Philippines

39
Pakistan

17
Mexico

1
Canada

TICKER

Tiny firm to help rebuild Puerto Rico

A tiny Montana firm founded just two years ago was given a $300 million contract to help restore power in hurricane-struck Puerto Rico, where 75% of the island is still without electricity. Whitefish Energy Holdings is based in the hometown of Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke, but the company denied benefiting from political favoritism.

Stricter rules for some refugees

The Trump Administration agreed to resume refugee admissions into the U.S. but announced stricter screening rules for nationals from 11 unnamed countries, mainly in the Middle East and Africa, identified as high risk.

Reality-TV star to challenge Putin

Russian journalist and former reality-television star Ksenia Sobchak announced she would run for President in Russia's elections in March. President Vladimir Putin has not yet announced his candidacy but is widely expected to do so.

Ocean acidification poses great threat

A study found ocean acidification, caused by the burning of fossil fuels, to be a great danger to marine life. The report found threats like plastic pollutants had affected organisms' ability to withstand acidification.

THE RISK REPORT

Abe's big win in Japan gives him time to make history

By Ian Bremmer

FOR THE WEST'S STRONGEST LEADER, look East. After his party's landslide victory in the parliamentary elections on Oct. 22, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan is poised to become his country's strongest and most successful leader in the postwar era.

Abe's center-right coalition retained its two-thirds supermajority in Japan's lower house of parliament, and his Liberal Democratic Party won an absolute majority on its own, allowing it to control the legislative agenda. Although Abe's ratings sank to a record low earlier this year, his opposition proved to be as fragmented as ever. Rising star Yuriko Koike, Tokyo's governor, kept her distance from this race, and the new Constitutional Democratic Party, rather than her newly minted Party of Hope, will now be the largest in opposition. Lawmakers will reinstall Abe as Prime Minister in time for Donald Trump's visit to Japan on Nov. 5. If he goes on to win a third term as his party's president next September, he will become Japan's longest-serving leader since the 1880s.

Abe now has time to play the long game. He wants very much to amend Article Nine of Japan's constitution—which repudiates war as a mean to resolve global disputes—to affirm once and for all Japan's right to maintain a military. Yet this remains a controversial question for Japanese voters, including both ideological pacifists and those who prefer their leader to focus on revitalizing the economy rather than entangling it in foreign conflicts. Abe will likely wait until his third term is secure before making any bold move.

But this parliamentary victory leaves him in a stronger position to play a more assertive role in East Asia, particularly in counter-balancing China. Trump's foreign policy ambivalence only makes this more important. Abe will also try to persuade the U.S. President during his visit to sell Japan cruise missiles as a deterrent against North Korea.

On trade, Abe can be firm with Trump. In particular, he can resist pressure to commit to bilateral trade talks because he now has more confidence that he'll be around long enough to persuade a future U.S. President to return to the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a multicountry deal that Trump has rejected and Abe still wants. Even if that fails, Abe would prefer TPP without the U.S. to a new bilateral agreement.

Another point on the long game: Abe hopes that Japan's shrinking labor market will raise wages for workers, triggering the reflation of prices that Japan needs for stronger growth. More lending with more state spending, and Japan's economy might be revving nicely in time for the 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games. If it works, that's a legacy any elected leader would envy. □

HIGH SCHOOL

Rejected yearbook photos

A Maine high schooler had his yearbook photo rejected because he was holding a shotgun, which he said represented a family tradition. Here, other yearbook props and outfits that fell afoul of school censors.

—Kate Samuelson

HEADDRESS

In 2016 a California high school declined to print a portrait of a student who had no ties to the Middle East wearing a traditional kaffiyeh. He said he wore it to "provoke" the system.

BOW

A Pennsylvania high schooler had her photo rejected in 2015 because she was drawing a hunting bow toward the lens. Officials said they considered it to be a weapon, even without arrows.

TUXEDO

In 2010 a teenager filed a discrimination lawsuit against a Mississippi school district for excluding her from her senior yearbook because she had chosen to wear a tuxedo in her photo.

ABE: KIMIMASA MAYAMA—EPA-EFE/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; YEARBOOK: KELLY ROY

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Milestones

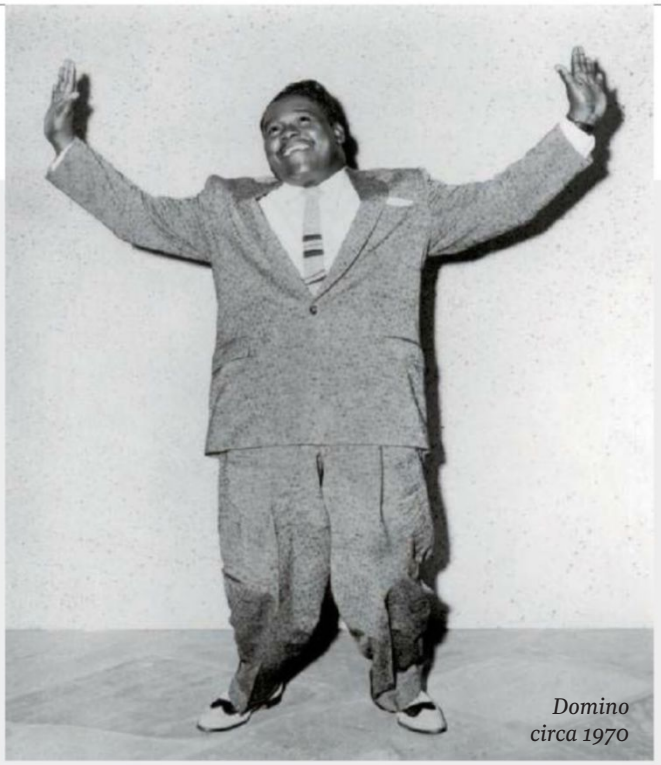
DIED
Retired astronaut **Paul Weitz,** who commanded the first flight of the *Challenger* in 1983 and logged a total of 793 hours in space, at 85.

› Nonagenarian marathon runner **Harriette Thompson,** who in 2014 ran a marathon in just over seven hours, the fastest time in the U.S. for a woman age 90 or over, at 94.

TRIGGERED
Article 155 of the Spanish constitution by Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy, which allows for **direct rule over the region of Catalonia** after a disputed independence referendum. Upon approval by the senate, the government could fire Catalonia's lawmakers and take control of its institutions.

NAMED
Veteran civil rights activist **Derrick Johnson** as the new president and chief executive of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

› French model **Ines Rau** as *Playboy*'s first transgender Playmate, just weeks after the death of the magazine's founder and editor-in-chief, Hugh Hefner.



Domino circa 1970

DIED

Fats Domino *Rock-'n'-roll pioneer*

ROCK 'N' ROLL BEGAN SO LONG AGO NOW THAT ITS genesis is practically the stuff of myth. But Fats Domino, who died on Oct. 24 at age 89, wasn't just there at the beginning: he *was* one of its beginnings, a veritable human bridge between the traditional rhythms of New Orleans and all—Elvis and Jerry Lee Lewis, the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, Michael Jackson and Prince—that would come after.

The man who would became Fats Domino was born Antoine Dominique Domino Jr., the youngest of eight, in the Ninth Ward of New Orleans, the city he called home his entire life. His first recording, "The Fat Man," released in 1949, showed an artist both radically, dangerously free and completely in control—it's a sassy, rollicking walk of a record. From there, Domino took jazz and boogie-woogie piano and spun them into a glorious futuristic offshoot, a joyful cartoon train that threatened to skitter recklessly right off the tracks but never did. Like so many black artists of his era, he wrote and recorded songs that would be remade by white artists, like 1955's "Ain't That a Shame," which became Pat Boone's first record to hit No. 1 on the Billboard charts.

Yet Domino's version ultimately eclipsed Boone's in popularity, and when we think of the song today, it's Domino's voice we hear. In performance, he was captivating, his hands a flurry of shiny cuff links and bejeweled fingers. He could phrase a lyric as a conversation, a confession, a flirtation. And that voice, on hits like "Blue Monday" and "Blueberry Hill," had a cushiony, sauntering authority, friendly without being ingratiating. It was the music of sun-dappled country roads and big-city neon dreams all at once, a sound that could reach anybody. Little wonder it did.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

THE CEO BRIEF

Critical test awaits next Fed chief

By Alan Murray

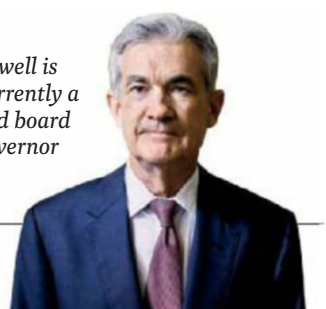
Thirty years ago this week, while the world was still wondering whether the worst stock-market crash since 1929 would lead to a 1930s-style economic bust, I wrote a column in the *Wall Street Journal* with the headline "A Silver Lining to the Crash?"

I mention it not only because it's one I got right (I am less likely to remember those I got wrong) but also because it points to an important parallel between then and now. Alan Greenspan was new at the Fed, having followed the legendary Paul Volcker, slayer of inflation. The markets were nervous that the new Fed chief might let inflation return. The crash punctured the markets' inflationary fears and cleared the way for an easier monetary policy and a healthier economy.

President Donald Trump is on the verge of appointing a new Fed chief. It's a curious job—overseeing a sleepy organization whose main task is contemplating minuscule changes in an obscure interest rate. Yet the Fed plays an outsize role in maintaining economic confidence, and economic confidence is critical to growth. It's important to get it right.

The good news is that the candidates are all competent, with varying degrees of expertise. Recent history has favored economists for the job, which would point to the current chair, Janet Yellen, or Stanford economist John Taylor. But Trump has a demonstrated preference for those who've achieved business success, giving an edge to Gary Cohn, Kevin Warsh and Jay Powell. Cohn crossed Trump over the Charlottesville riots, and Warsh has a known preference for tighter policy, so I'd put my money on Powell as the likely choice.

If I'm right, odds are high that he—like Greenspan—will face a financial crisis early in his term. His experience and temperament make him well suited for the challenge. But it's a test unlike any other he's faced, with the nation's prosperity at stake. This one matters.



Powell is currently a Fed board governor

DOMINO: MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES; POWELL: T.J. KIRKPATRICK—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES

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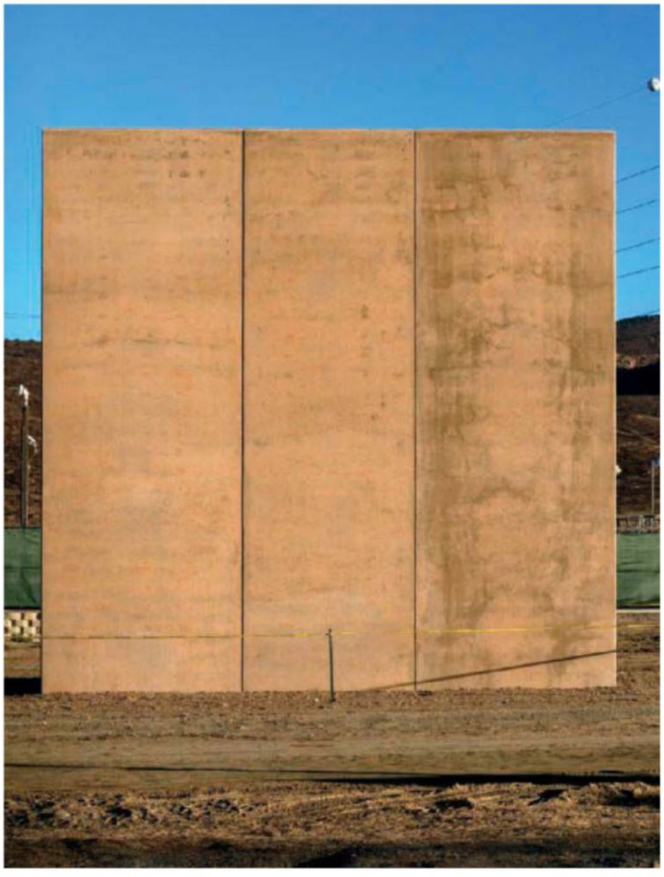

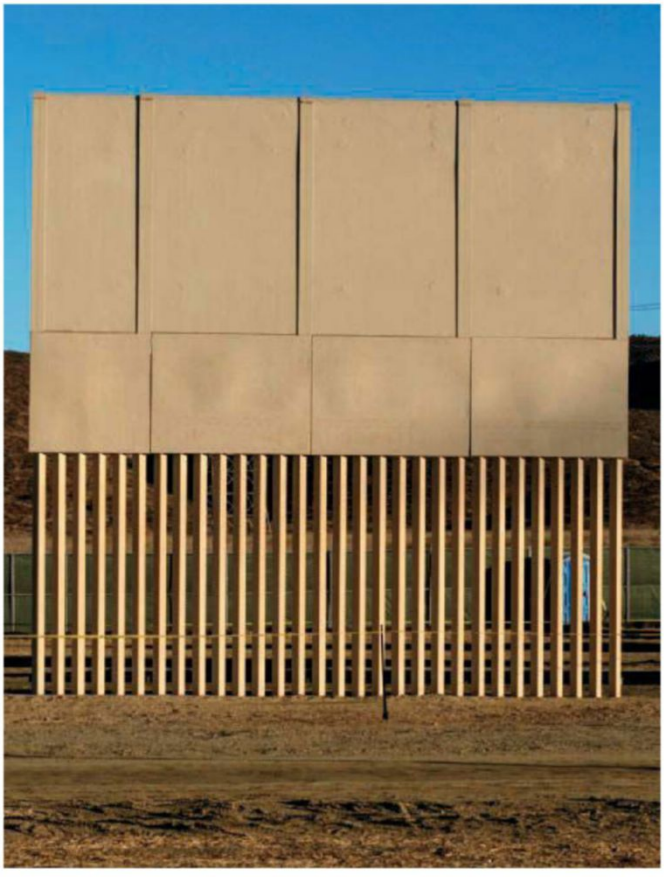

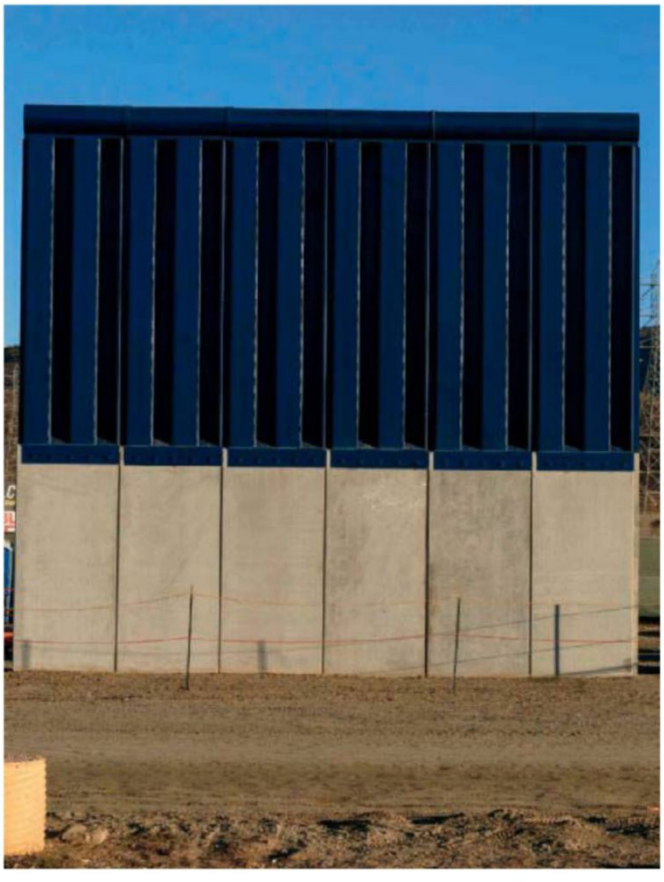

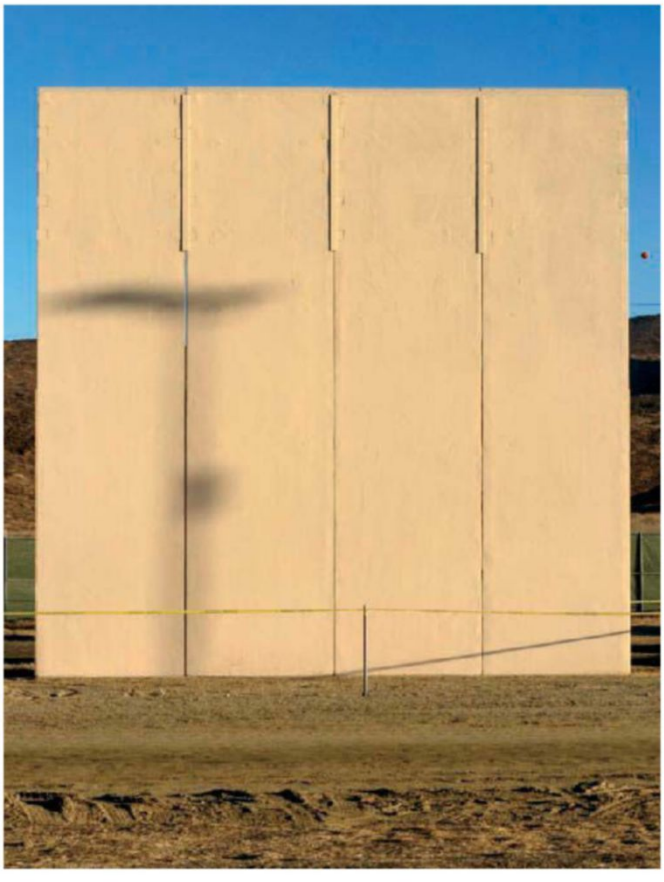

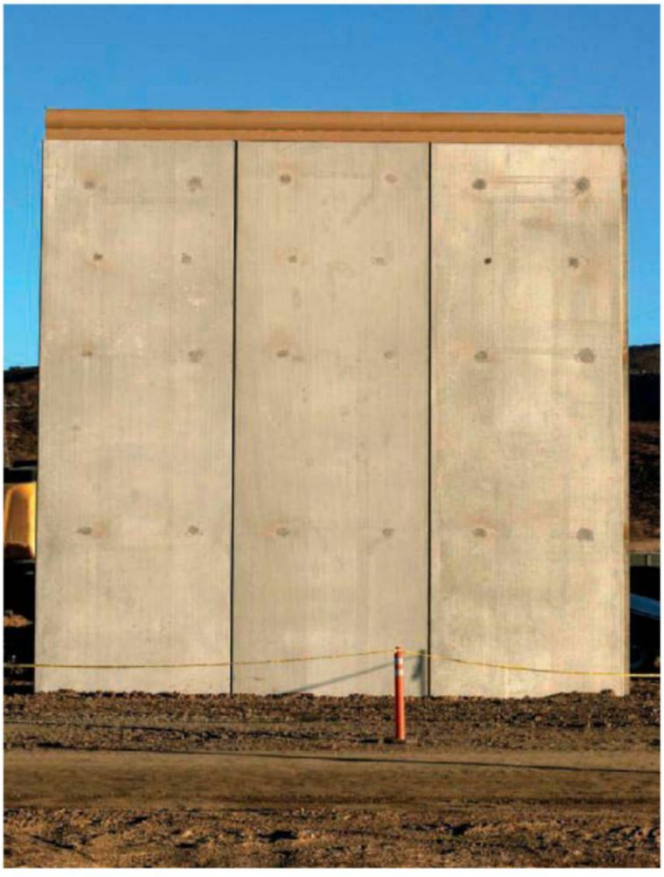

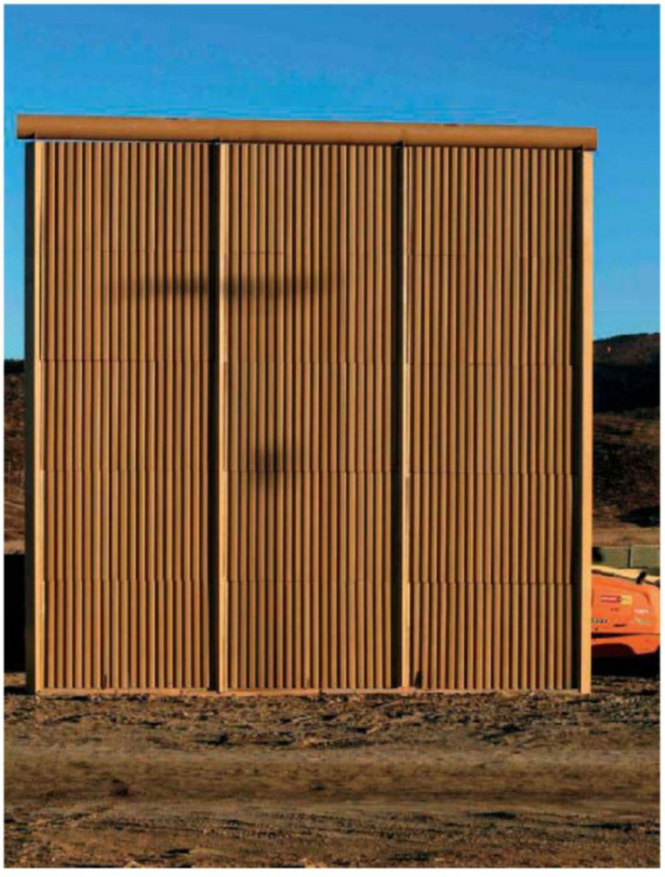

Meet the candidates

Although funding for President Trump's border wall has yet to emerge, eight prototypes, built to specifications mandated by U.S. Customs and Border Protection, have been erected in southern San Diego. Photographed on Oct. 22, each stands 18 ft. to 30 ft. and can withstand at least one hour of attack with a sledgehammer, a chisel or battery-operated cutting tools.

Photographs by Guillermo Arias—AFP/Getty Images

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Bigger Buttons

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The View

'IN 2016, 4,344 PEOPLE WERE ADDED TO THE NATIONAL WAITING LIST FOR A HEART TRANSPLANT, BUT ONLY 3,191 GOT ONE.' —PAGE 20

A new book argues that the treachery of cheating is not so black-and-white

GETTY IMAGES

RELATIONSHIPS

Affairs are only human, which is no excuse to have one

By Belinda Luscombe

IN 2016, THREE-QUARTERS OF AMERICANS believed that it is always wrong to have sex with "someone other than your marriage partner." Exactly the same proportion felt that way in 1991. In the intervening quarter-century, the number of people who think it should be easier to divorce rose by a third. Meanwhile, approval of same-sex marriage increased about fourfold, to 68%. Much of the definition of marriage (how long it lasts, who it's with) has changed—just not our view of cheaters.

So it's a brave woman who will stick up for the adulterer, suggest that satisfying one's sexual hungers—even at great cost to a loved one—is understandable and advance the notion of a "no-fault affair." Such is the task undertaken by Esther Perel, a controversial couples therapist and TED Talk star, in her new book, *The State of Affairs*.

Most couples therapists encourage more interpersonal honesty and harmony as a way to juice up boudoir ardor. But in her first book—the 2006 best seller *Mating in Captivity*—Perel, the daughter of Holocaust survivors, counseled distance, seeing partners through others' eyes and exploring the dynamics of power to stimulate desire. While the standard sexual advice is to put a partner's pleasure first, she encouraged "ruthlessness" in bed.

Perel now argues that while infidelity is a betrayal, that convenient label ignores unsettling questions about whether we are being realistic in our most intimate relationships. Drawing from her interactions with the couples she sees in her practice,

PHOTOGRAPH BY JONATHAN KNOWLES

she lays out some mitigating factors: Can the guy whose wife with Alzheimer's can't remember him have a girlfriend? Is watching Internet porn equivalent to paying for a personalized online performance? Is breaking up an otherwise happy family because its creators are sexually incompatible really better for everyone than having a secret side lover? Perel also points out that not all the unfaithful come from unhappy marriages or are sexually compulsive or just jerks. "Sometimes when we seek the gaze of another," she writes, "it's not our partner we are turning away from, but the person we have become."

While Perel excels at setting the cat among the pigeons, she's less deft at mopping up the gizzards. Her solutions to bedroom betrayal are often just cuckoo. She suggests that one wife build an altar to her husband's paramour to remind her of how the other woman reinvigorated her marriage. She notes that some couples find that jealousy provokes desire and "use others for a libidinal reboot." She ventures that it might be worth trying some form of "consensual nonmonogamy" even though many couples who do that still end up in therapy, with a whole different set of equally confounding troubles. "Monogamy is impossible," François Truffaut said, "but anything else is worse."

The problem Perel never seems to grapple with is that above all, lovers, like doctors, should do no harm. As parents tell their kids, whether you hit your friend by accident or deliberately, it still stings pretty much the same. The simple question at the heart of committing to somebody till death is whether you can value that person's needs ahead of your own. The answer is often no, because we're only human. But to love is to make the attempt.

Moreover, Perel doesn't acknowledge that people who love their partners and still cheat don't just betray their families. They often find they've betrayed themselves. A Norwegian study published in September reports that people who imagined they had cheated found it hard to believe they would be forgiven. This was true even though their partners predicted they would be likely to forgive them. The hypothetical cheaters' beliefs accord with self-perception theory, which suggests that people interpret their own attitudes through their behavior. And cheating makes them feel as if the person they have become is not who they set out to be.

No, monogamy is not natural. But neither is decoding the genome or auto racing, and nobody thinks we should abandon those endeavors. Perhaps the greatest value of Perel's book is as an invitation to resist judging other couples' marital car crashes. A failure of fidelity can be less an opportunity for gawking and more a chance to applaud those who spin out but decide to keep aiming for the checkered flag. ◻

VERBATIM

'I'm happy with my iPhone 8—which is the same as the iPhone 7, which is the same as the iPhone 6, to me.'

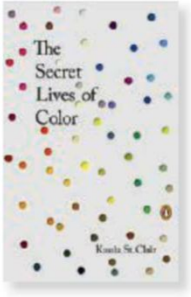
STEVE WOZNIAK, Apple co-founder, saying he'd "rather wait and watch" than buy the iPhone X on its Nov. 3 release date

SONIA RECCHIA—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

BOOK IN BRIEF

Why America isn't as pink as it used to be

IN 1979, A PROFESSOR THOUGHT HE had the answer to the nation's crime surge: the color pink. Specifically, as Kassia St. Clair writes in her new book, *The Secret Lives of Color,* "a sickly shade of bright pink" akin to Pepto-Bismol. In a study, he showed that just looking at it weakened men. (Subsequent studies had mixed results.)

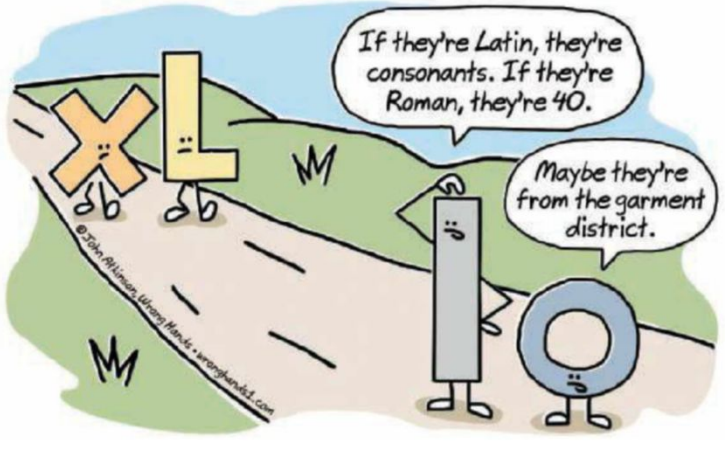


Not long after, two commanding officers at the U.S. Naval Correctional Center in Seattle doused their holding cells in the color, which would take their names: Baker-Miller pink. For the next five months, the violent episodes that had plagued the prison ceased. Soon the shade popped up in other prisons, as well as public housing, buses and visiting football teams' locker rooms. So why is Baker-Miller pink rare today? Chalk it up to lower crime rates or prison workers likely not enjoying it. The color's full potential is still a mystery. "Hundreds of questions remain unanswered," writes St. Clair, "until the next crime wave perhaps."

—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

Textual ambiguity


If they're Latin, they're consonants. If they're Roman, they're 40.
Maybe they're from the garment district.
XL
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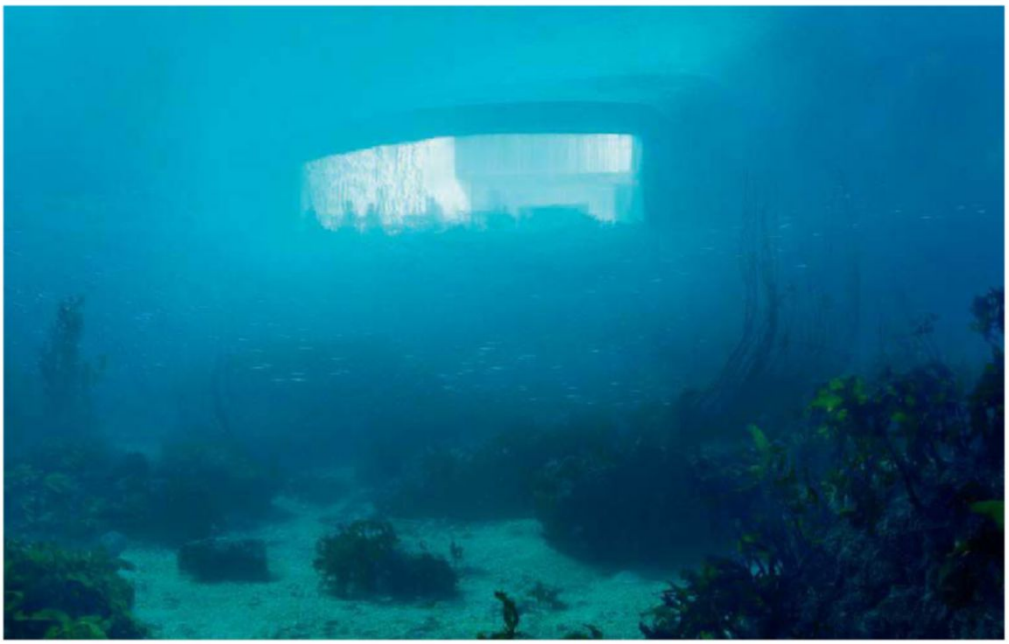
BIG IDEA

An undersea restaurant-laboratory

What's a better way to see seafood? In an underwater eatery. Architecture firm Snohetta has unveiled renderings *(below)* for a restaurant on the southern Norwegian coast called Under that will also serve as a man-made reef and marine research facility. The entrance chamber will perch on the shore; the champagne-bar section will plunge below the water; and the main room will rest 16 ft. beneath the surface and feature a 36-ft.-long window, "like a sunken periscope," the firm explained. After the restaurant's 2019 opening, scientists will use it to study if fish behavior changes with the seasons. The hope is the building will attract more than patrons: the concrete exterior will be texturized so mollusks can latch on and create a mussel reef, serving as a natural water purifier—though the plan didn't say whether they prefer still or sparkling. *—Julia Zorthian*



MIR AND SNØHETTA

HISTORY

How trick-or-treating arrived in America

DESPITE ITS ORIGINS IN PAGAN AND Christian tradition, the modern American Halloween is often a purely secular celebration centered on candy and costumes. But in fact, one of the most frivolous aspects of the holiday has a serious religious past.

Medieval Christian tradition held that on Hallowtide, the eve of All Saints' Day, the poor went to the homes of the wealthy and offered to pray for the recently departed in that household; it was believed that more prayers meant a soul was more likely to be saved. The rich then rewarded the poor with food and beer, explains historian Nicholas Rogers, author of *Halloween: From Pagan Ritual to Party Night*. But after the Protestant Reformation (coincidentally, Martin Luther posted his 95 theses on Oct. 31, 1517), the idea that souls could be saved in this way began to lose popularity in many of the new denominations. Some people kept up the tradition, but its religious connection faded, even among Catholics.

By the 1840s, when a wave of Irish and Scottish immigrants brought the custom to the U.S., it was basically a secular pastime. Although the Catholic Irish faced widespread prejudice from nativist forces in their new homeland, the celebration, having been stripped of its Catholic underpinning, quickly proved to be popular. As those immigrants began to assimilate, newspapers reported the custom trending among 19th century college students. By the 1930s, North America had a new term for the old tradition: *trick-or-treating*. —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

For more on these stories, visit **time.com/history**

POINT, COUNTERPOINTS

Should tech companies have to disclose who pays for online election ads?

On Oct. 19, Senators John McCain, Amy Klobuchar and Mark Warner introduced a bill to require Facebook, Google and others to keep public records of electioneering-ad purchases over $500, including information on the buyers. The tech titans are pushing back. Here are the competing arguments.

HISTORY'S VIEW

Foreigners aren't allowed to spend money on U.S. elections, so TV and radio networks report who buys the election ads they air. In 2006, an FEC vote decided the Internet was "unique." In 2011 and 2016, modifying its position, the FEC tried but failed to apply stricter rules.

TECH'S VIEW

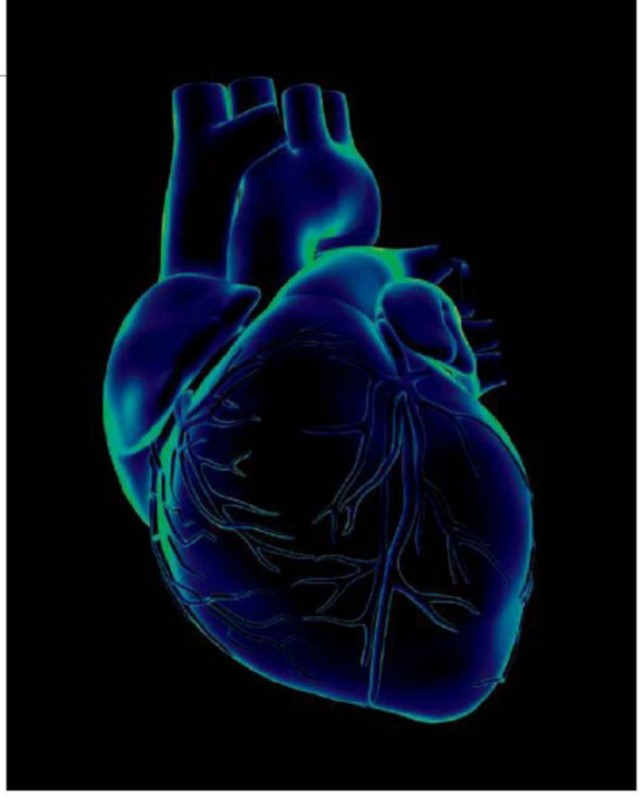
Ahead of the 2016 election, Facebook and Google each sold at least $50,000 worth of political ads, possibly to Russian buyers, but they insist that most ads weren't strictly election related. Moreover, they object to regulation on principle ("paid for by" messages may stymie innovation) and logistics (there are too many sales to track).

CONGRESS'S VIEW

Voting is too important to risk any lapses in protection. "We have to secure our election systems," Klobuchar said. "The next election is only 383 days away." *—J.Z.*

A surprising way to make more hearts available for transplants: Use diseased organs

By Alexandra Sifferlin



FOR TWO LONG YEARS, TOM GIANGIULIO JR., 58, WAS ON THE national waiting list for a heart transplant. He had cardiomyopathy, a condition that can weaken the heart muscle, and although he'd taken medication and had surgery to fix the problem, his doctors said there wasn't much more they could do. He would have to wait for a new heart—and hope that he wouldn't become one of the 20 Americans to die every day while waiting for a transplant.

"You wake up every morning and wonder if you're going to be around to go to sleep at night," says Giangiulio, who lives in Waterford Works, N.J. "It's like looking into the tunnel, and there's no light on the other end."

At a doctor's appointment at Penn Medicine in Philadelphia, Giangiulio was approached with an unconventional offer: Would he be open to enrolling in a clinical trial that could get him a new heart faster, but would require him to be—hopefully briefly—infected with the deadly virus hepatitis C?

Each year in the U.S., about 1,000 donor hearts get discarded because of the infection, which spreads through the bloodstream to the organs. But the disease can now be cured. In the past few years, several new, highly effective drugs for hepatitis C have been federally approved, and they've been shown to clear hepatitis C up to 98% of the time.

> 'There was no fear in making this decision. It was going to save my life.'
>
> **TOM GIANGIULIO JR.**, the first transplant recipient of a heart infected with hepatitis C at Penn Medicine

"Now that hepatitis C is curable, we can use these organs and not worry about an increase in mortality," says Dr. Rhondalyn McLean, medical director of the hospital's heart-transplant program. "This offered an opportunity to expand the donor pool."

Because so many people have died from the opioid epidemic, there have been more potential donor organs infected with hepatitis C in recent years. Cases of hepatitis C nearly tripled from 2010 to 2015, which experts attribute to a rise in injection-drug use. "Young, otherwise healthy people are dying from a drug overdose," says Dr. David Goldberg, co-leader of the study and an assistant professor of medicine and epidemiology in the Perelman School of Medicine at the University Pennsylvania. "There are a lot of potential donors."

The heart isn't the only organ being explored. In spring 2016, Penn Medicine began a clinical trial to test the safety and effectiveness of giving people hepatitis C–infected kidneys. The trial is funded in part by the drug company Merck, which manufactures the hepatitis C drug Zepatier. After surgery, people in the study wait in the hospital for a few days until the virus appears in their blood, then start a 12-week dose of Zepatier. Fewer than 30 people have received a transplant, but everyone who has completed the drug regimen has become virus-free.

The doctors hope for similar results with diseased-heart transplants. But there are no guarantees. "We are giving someone a very serious infection," says Goldberg. Before anyone enrolls in the heart or kidney transplant trials, they must prove that they understand they may not be cured.

After much discussion with his wife and doctors, Giangiulio became the first person in the trial to get a hepatitis C–infected heart transplant. After waiting for about three months, he matched with a donor and received a transplant on June 18, 2017. "The program saved my life," he says.

In 2016, 4,344 people were added to the national waiting list for a heart transplant, but only 3,191 received one. The Penn doctors say using organs with hepatitis C could help close that gap. Several other hospitals are doing similar studies.

Many are eager for the surgery. "Sometimes you just have to take a risk," says Kiran Shelat, 64, who received a hepatitis C–infected kidney transplant.

Recovering from heart surgery has taken time, but now Giangiulio breathes easier and can do some physical activity. "There was no fear in making this decision," he says. "It was going to save my life, and could save more lives every year." □

Heart transplants by the numbers

3,991

Number of people in the U.S. currently on the national waiting list for a heart transplant

312

Median number of days people in need of a heart transplant spend on the waiting list

3,191

Number of heart transplants performed in the U.S. in 2016

ANGELHELL—GETTY IMAGES

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DEMOLITION CREW

WHILE THE PRESIDENT TWEETS AND FULMINATES, HIS CABINET IS REWRITING THE RULES OF GOVERNMENT

By Massimo Calabresi

Stephen K. Bannon was still chief White House strategist when he declared that the mission of the Donald Trump Administration would be "deconstruction of the administrative state." The opaque, academic language was at odds with Bannon's swashbuckling style, but that turned out to be appropriate. The actual work of dismantling the sprawling apparatus of the Executive Branch—the specialized courts, byzantine rulemaking bodies and independent enforcement officers—would be carried out by people who did not make headlines. "If you look at these Cabinet appointees," Bannon said in February, "they were all selected for a reason. And that is the deconstruction."

For most of the year since Trump's stunning election win, his pronouncements have commanded the public's attention the way an unexpected announcement does on a long plane ride. But on the ground, things have been happening. Quietly, the Administration has taken thousands of actions, affecting everyone from the poorest day laborer to the richest investment banker. And it's touting its work. "No President or Administration has deregulated or withdrawn as many anticipated regulatory actions as this one in this short amount of time," says White House communications director Hope Hicks.

How you feel about those efforts may depend on how you vote. An October 2017 Pew Research Center report found that 66% of Democrats believe government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest, compared with just 31% of Republicans. That's one of the greatest partisan divides on the issue in decades.

In Washington, philosophy tends to disappear into the swamp Trump pledged to drain. His White House is stocked with former executives and industry insiders who have power over issues in which former clients have hundreds of millions of dollars at stake. By mid-June, according to *USA Today,* more than 100 former federal lobbyists had found jobs in the Trump Administration, 69 of them in agencies they had tried to influence from the outside.

Consider: it was President Bill Clinton who signed a repeal of the Glass-Steagall Act, which had prevented banks from betting your money on Wall Street. And President George W. Bush imposed almost $30 billion in new regulatory costs on Americans, according to the Heritage Foundation. Ultimately, as with much in life, good government relies on the good faith of those in whom we place our trust. Which is why so much rides on the crew that Trump has put in charge of his D.C. demolition project.

SCOTT PRUITT'S MISSION TO REMAKE THE EPA

COMPANY MAN IN WASHINGTON

By Justin Worland

BONNIE WIRTZ WAS TENDING TO HER MINNESOTA FARM ONE SUMmer evening in 2012 when a crop duster buzzed low overhead. The aircraft sprayed chemicals on her property, missing its target next door. Soon the fumes seeped into her home through the air conditioner, and Wirtz wound up in an emergency room, coughing and bewildered and worried about the health of her 8-month-old son.

She had been sickened by a reaction to a pesticide called chlorpyrifos, which the agriculture industry uses to kill insects and worms on everything from cotton to oranges. A growing body of scientific evidence has linked the pesticide to health problems in children. Indeed, Wirtz's son was diagnosed in 2015 with a developmental disorder that affects the functioning of the brain. It was the kind of episode that pushed the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) that same year to propose banning the chemical altogether for most uses.

But when Scott Pruitt took over in February, the agency reconsidered. Pruitt, a former Oklahoma attorney general, came to the EPA on a mission to change it from within. Since its founding in 1970 under Republican President Richard Nixon, the agency's primary task has been to keep people safe from toxic pollutants. Pruitt has pioneered a radically different approach to environmental regulation, weighing impact on job growth and the concerns of business groups on a level plane with environmental protection when the law allows. In March, less than a month after speaking with the CEO of Dow Chemical, the primary maker of chlorpyrifos, Pruitt reversed course, delaying a decision on the pesticide until 2022. (An EPA spokesperson said the conversation was brief and chlorpyrifos was not discussed.)

'None of us are under any illusion about who he is and what he represents.'

DAVID YARNOLD, head of the National Audubon Society

In an interview with TIME on Oct. 18, Pruitt dismissed criticism of his industry-friendly approach. "I don't spend any time with polluters. I prosecute polluters," he says. "What I'm spending time with is stakeholders who care about outcomes. I think it's the wrong premise. It's Washington, D.C.–think to look at folks across the country—from states to citizens to farmers and ranchers, industry in general—and say they are evil or wrong."

But the sharp turn at the EPA and Pruitt's close ties to the industry have raised questions about whose interests the agency is protecting. Since he took office, more than a dozen EPA regulations have been killed or put under review, from fuel-efficiency standards to regulations on the disposal of coal ash to restrictions on toxic metals like arsenic in waterways. Moreover, the Trump Administration has proposed slashing funding for the agency's law-enforcement branch, which identifies polluters under existing regulations.

All this has aided businesses, propping up the declining coal industry, ensuring profit margins for chemical makers and reducing compliance costs for farmers. But the change has also weakened an agency designed to save lives. "They're trying to deconstruct and dismantle the basic protections," says Mustafa Ali, a career EPA official who resigned in March after 24 years. "They're creating situations where more folks are going to get sick, some folks are going to die, more folks are going to be put in harm's way."

Pruitt's work at the EPA is part of the Trump Administration's larger project of rolling back decades of regulations across government. From the Departments of Education to Energy to Housing and Urban Development, Trump has appointed Cabinet Secretaries who are openly skeptical about the missions of the departments they now control.

Pruitt's quest to remake the agency has gotten pushback from all sides: environmental groups that sue over every move, career staff reluctant to gut the EPA and even hard-line conservatives who think he moves too slowly. The outcome of these fights will be pivotal, not just for the Trump Administration and its supporters in industry but also for the well-being of millions of Americans.

PRUITT HAS MADE his immense wood-paneled office in Washington's Federal Triangle his own. Framed baseball jerseys decorate one wall. Ronald Reagan memorabilia is displayed in a cabinet alongside a Fox News mug, and a bison bust rests on his desk in homage to his home state of Oklahoma. In conversation, he slips between chitchat and complicated policy, wrapping statements questioning the legitimacy of climate change in lawyerly language.

Yet Pruitt does not seem entirely at home at the EPA. His suite on the third floor of its neoclassical headquarters is often off-limits to most career staff. He travels with a 24-hour security detail, an unusual and costly move. During the early months of his tenure, he often chose a staffer's office to make calls, presumably to stave off leaks. More recently, he installed a $24,570 soundproof booth to ensure that his phone calls are secure.

SCOTT PRUITT | ENVIRONMENTAL PRO

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN VOSS FOR TIME

TECTION AGENCY

Pruitt rankled many of the agency's career employees from the start. In a February speech, he painted the EPA as a federal bureaucracy run amok. He would change that, he declared shortly thereafter, by "getting back to basics" at the agency. "Our job is to enforce the law," Pruitt tells TIME. "What has happened the last several years is that this agency—among others, but this agency particularly—has taken those statutes and stretched them so far."

At the center of this realignment is a change in how the EPA assesses the costs and benefits of regulations. In Pruitt's view, protecting the environment is just one element of his job as the country's chief environmental regulator, on par with promoting the economy. The move to protect business comes as little surprise to those who have followed Pruitt's rise. Pruitt made his reputation in Republican circles as one of the EPA's toughest critics; as Oklahoma attorney general, he sued the agency 14 times. A 2014 New York *Times* report documented how on several occasions Pruitt sent complaints to the EPA at the request of energy companies, copying their proposed language nearly word for word on his official letterhead. Since moving to Washington, Pruitt has selected former industry officials as chief advisers. Schedules released in response to open record requests show that his calendar has been crammed with meetings with industry executives, from the president of Shell Oil Co. to Bob Murray, the Ohio coal baron. The rare meetings he has taken with environmental groups have not accomplished much. "None of us are under any illusion about who he is and what he represents," David Yarnold, who heads the National Audubon Society, told TIME after meeting with Pruitt in April.

Pruitt's approach to dismantling environmental regulations often follows a pattern. First, the administrator meets with an industry group. Then the group petitions for a regulatory change. Soon after, Pruitt announces a review along the lines the group requested. In most cases, Pruitt does not argue that regulations have no benefits. Instead, he attacks them as inconsistent with the letter of the law and argues that the economic costs outweigh the benefits.

Take the Clean Power Plan, which was devised by the Obama Administration as a way to fight climate change. Many conservatives abhor the rule because it intervenes in state energy policy and hurts the GOP-friendly coal industry. When it was announced in 2015, the EPA estimated the measure would slash the amount of sulfur dioxide emitted by power plants by 90% and cut nitrogen oxides by more than 70%. Both pollutants contribute to smog as well as a substance known as particulate matter, which triggers heart attacks, aggravates asthma and affects lung function. According to the EPA's 2015 analysis, the plan would have saved 3,600 lives by 2030 and offered health and climate benefits of at least $34 billion a year.

Across the Executive Branch, agencies are overturning Obama-era rules and programs in an effort to boost the economy and advance President Trump's agenda. Here are some examples:

WATERWAYS

Trump ordered the Army Corps of Engineers and the Environmental Protection Agency to review rules that put even the tiniest creeks under federal scrutiny.

AUTO MANUFACTURING

The Department of Transportation and the EPA are considering easing fuel-economy standards that impose a 55 m.p.g. average on carmakers' fleets by 2025.

PARKS AND MONUMENTS

The Interior Department has reviewed all national monuments created since 1996 that are over 100,000 acres and has submitted a proposal to downsize several of them.

But Pruitt rejects the idea that the agency should consider such health data and tells TIME that addressing such pollution should be left to other regulations. As he reviewed the Clean Power Plan over the past seven months, Pruitt has focused instead on the billions of dollars that the regulation costs the coal and power industries, accusing the Obama Administration of federal overreach. The rule was stayed by the Supreme Court, bolstering Pruitt's overreach argument. "We shouldn't put up fences. We shouldn't say we have this tremendous natural resource, don't touch it," Pruitt tells TIME. The EPA, he says, should be about "managing that natural resource—whether it's water or fossil fuels or land." In October, Pruitt began the process of canceling the plan.

He's right that the regulation would have hastened the decline of the coal industry, though energy analysts say his move won't save it. And coal carries costs of its own. "It's extremely shortsighted," Christine Todd Whitman, a former Republican governor who ran the agency for two years under President George W. Bush, says of Pruitt's opposition to the plan. "To clean up the air, to help reduce that from an economic point of view makes a huge amount of sense."

Pruitt has taken a similar approach to chlorpyrifos. The EPA banned the chemical from most residential usage in 2000, citing a suspected link to brain defects in children. Since then, scientific data has shown that farmworkers and children in agricultural communities are particularly at risk. One study by researchers at the University of California, Berkeley, indicated that children born in close proximity to a farm where the chemical has been used have lower IQs than their counterparts born elsewhere. Another study of pregnant women by Columbia University researchers found that exposure to the chemical changes the brain structure of their children. But farmers around the world rely on chlorpyrifos. And while Dow Chemical does not say how much it makes from the product, the company has said in court that it would be "significantly impacted" by a ban. In addition to those costs, Pruitt has argued that the science is not conclusive. A federal court ruled in the EPA's favor on the matter in July.

Pruitt's moves alarm not only environmentalists and public health advocates but also many moderate Republicans. "There is no precedent for the range of apparently skeptical reviews of EPA regulations," says William Reilly, who ran the agency under President George H.W. Bush. "I'm not confident that the integrity to the entire legal apparatus is really safe." Some industry officials who worry about economic stability almost as much as overregulation say Pruitt may tip the balance too far in one direction, setting up the agency for another dramatic shift when a new President comes to town. "Virtually everyone in the business community believes that EPA needs to issue a replacement rule" to address climate change, says

Environmental activists protest on the National Mall on April 29

MICHAEL NIGRO—PACIFIC PRESS/ZUMA

Jeff Holmstead, a senior EPA official under George W. Bush who now represents energy companies. "They think they would be better off with a reasonable regulation than with no regulation at all."

Meanwhile, critics on the right complain that Pruitt has not gone far enough. Myron Ebell, who led Trump's EPA transition team, says he wants Pruitt to challenge the EPA's endangerment finding—the scientific document underpinning the agency's global-warming regulation. "It's essential," Ebell says. But Pruitt is savvy about which battles he picks. Challenging the endangerment finding would trigger a legal fight much like that which ensnared Trump's ill-fated travel ban. Instead, Pruitt has devised a strategy to publicly debate—and likely undermine—climate science while working bureaucratic channels to weaken regulation behind the scenes.

ALL THIS HAS EARNED Pruitt Trump's ear as well as his praise. Trump has cited the work of the EPA, and the decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement—a move that bears Pruitt's fingerprints—on a short list of his top accomplishments. "One of the biggest areas of success for the Trump Administration has been turning around really big regulations," says West Virginia attorney general Patrick Morrisey, who worked with Pruitt on the Republican Attorneys General Association. "Pruitt is the driving force behind that."

In some ways that's because he is the President's stylistic opposite. While Trump speaks in generalities and governs by tweet, Pruitt can talk the nuts and bolts of policy and works the levers of his agency slowly and subtly. If the President is impulsive, Pruitt thinks two steps ahead. It is a measure of his political acumen that he has thrived despite often being at odds on climate policy with some of the President's closest confidants, such as his daughter Ivanka Trump and son-in-law Jared Kushner.

It is one reason why many observers believe Pruitt has his eye on a political job, such as governor of Oklahoma or one of the state's U.S. Senate seats. For all his impact at the EPA, Pruitt seems destined to spend much of his time at the agency battling environmentalists and blue-state attorneys general, who are filing lawsuits to challenge every regulatory rollback. This summer, a federal court rejected an attempt to delay a rule curbing methane emissions, and Pruitt backed off a similar delay to a rule on ozone.

But even if Pruitt were to depart today, his tenure would still leave a substantial mark. The chemicals and pollutants spilling into our air and water will not just disappear when a new EPA chief comes to town. And neither will the health effects. Just ask Bonnie Wirtz. "This shouldn't be happening," she says of the EPA delay on chlorpyrifos. "We have the scientific evidence for a ban. Let's do it." ◻

ZOMBIE BANKS

The Federal Reserve and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation are considering a rule that would allow banks to update every two years, rather than annually, what they call living wills—a road map for shutting failing banks.

WORKER COMPENSATION

Large firms no longer have to report detailed pay data—showing how female and minority employees are compensated—to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

WORKER SAFETY

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration has twice shelved a rule that requires employers to electronically submit worker-injury data.

TRADE

The President withdrew the U.S. from the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal with 11 other nations, prompting the other nations to reboot it without American involvement.

DR. BEN CARSON
DEPT. OF

WORKING IN WASHINGTON IS TESTING BEN CARSON'S BELIEFS

GOVERNMENT'S HESITANT DEFENDER

By Tessa Berenson/Baltimore

WITH THREE DAUGHTERS AND AN OLD HOUSE FULL OF FLAKING paint, Michele Stewart and her husband couldn't afford to protect their children from lead poisoning. But then help arrived in the form of a $19,433 grant from the federal government for new windows, doors and trim. It was followed, one sunny June morning, by a visit from the nation's most famous former brain surgeon, who arrived at Stewart's Baltimore house with reporters in tow. "It was my house, but now it's my home," Stewart, a dental-hygienist student, told the assembled crowd.

Ben Carson, Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), had come to trumpet the roughly $100 million his agency sets aside each year to remove toxic lead-based paints (outlawed in U.S. construction since 1978) from the homes of lower-income residents who can't afford to do so themselves. The spending is worthy, he assured the reporters. As a pediatric neurosurgeon, Carson often felt frustrated when he released his patients from the hospital knowing they would return to homes that could make them sick. "I spent a lot of time working extremely hard [operating] on children from Baltimore," said Carson, who spent the bulk of his career at Johns Hopkins Hospital. "Then you get them well again and you send them into an environment that isn't healthy … This is an opportunity to close the loop."

Standing at the entrance to Stewart's home, hand placed thoughtfully on his chin as he queried Baltimore housing professionals about lead remediation, Carson said the government was there to help. "In an ideal world where we had a lot of money," he said, gesturing to the other houses on the street, "we would just remediate all these homes."

This was not the sort of thing that Carson would have said during his rise as a Republican presidential candidate in the 2016 primaries. Back then, he was a conservative warrior selling a free-market vision of hard work, small government and personal responsibility. He once cast federal spending as a form of oppression, calling Obamacare the "worst thing that has happened in this nation since slavery." He compared the government to a morbidly obese man so addicted to eating that he could no longer leave the house. A government that takes care of all your needs, he said, is "the opposite of compassion."

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN VOSS FOR TIME

Carson's inconsistency may seem like political convenience. But it also reflects an old American debate: How can the government help people in need by propping them up without becoming a crutch? Nowhere is that tension more stark than at HUD. A lot of people need help to avoid homelessness and begin climbing out of poverty. The roughly 18 million families for whom housing costs eat up more than 50% of their income can face a brutal choice: pay for groceries, medicine or clothes for their kids or risk losing the roof over their heads. HUD spends 84% of its $47 billion budget simply helping low-income people pay rent. But the real goal of the agency, Carson argues, has to be for people to no longer need its help at all.

Now it's his job to figure out how to square that circle. Unfortunately for Carson, his task has been complicated by the Trump Administration's proposed $6 billion, or 13%, cut in HUD's budget next fiscal year. As many as 250,000 people could lose housing subsidies in the unlikely event the cuts go through, according to the National Low Income Housing Coalition, putting them at risk of homelessness. The cuts are particularly controversial since 65% of people who benefit from HUD money are minorities. There would be "a disproportionate impact on people of color," says Jocelyn Fontaine, a senior research associate at the Urban Institute. Congressional proposals are less dire: the House approved a budget that shaves $487 million from the agency, while the Senate's plan is more generous.

Carson says he wants to reconcile the competing challenges of need vs. dependency by devising programs that teach self-sufficiency. "For me, success is not how many people we get into public housing, but how many we get out," he told TIME at a Baltimore elementary school that June day. "How many people do we give the life skills that will allow them to be independent?" The question is whether a leader with no experience in government or housing can construct policies that deliver on that promise.

CARSON'S LIFE STORY—which has been canonized in children's books, memorialized in the National Museum of African American History and Culture and retold in a TV movie staring Cuba Gooding Jr.—is a testament to his twin pillars of education and faith. He grew up poor in Detroit to a single mother with a third-grade education, though he never lived in public housing. As a child he struggled with a violent temper, but a religious experience in high school quelled his anger, he says, and set him on a smoother path. He earned spots at Yale and the University of Michigan Medical School, and became the youngest chief of pediatric neurosurgery at Johns Hopkins, at age 33.

Carson credits his mother for teaching him to reject government assistance, "although she occasionally did accept some public aid," Carson wrote in his

2015 book, *A More Perfect Union*. "She did not think that receiving public assistance was a good thing, and she constantly drilled into both my brother and me the need to work hard and to become self-sufficient citizens."

It was that industriousness and a flash in the political zeitgeist that launched Carson's political career. In 2013, at the National Prayer Breakfast, he stood by President Obama and slammed his health care law, instantly becoming a conservative darling. Pushed by grassroots support, he decided to run for President. After a brief stint atop the early GOP primary polls, he dropped out of the race in March 2016, endorsed Donald Trump one week later and swore he would return to the private sector.

So when Trump announced his plan to nominate the former surgeon for HUD Secretary, experts in the field scratched their heads. For all his talk of the evils of welfare, the actual mechanics of housing policy have never been one of Carson's passions, let alone an area of expertise. Carson wants to help people, says a former HUD Secretary who asked not to be named, "but he doesn't seem to understand the central importance of housing in that opportunity." Even his friends admit that it will take time for Carson to adapt. "He was a revolutionary scientist," says Armstrong Williams, a close adviser. "But in [government], it requires patience."

It's been a bumpy adjustment. When Carson went on a listening tour to meet with people in communities benefiting from HUD programs, the most publicity he drew was when he got stuck in an elevator in Miami. He also received bad press for saying that public housing shouldn't be too "comfortable" and that poverty was to a large extent "a state of mind."

Carson argues there is a middle ground between the dire warnings of housing advocates and what he sees as the damaging status quo of federal subsidization of low-income Americans. Federal housing, he says, should be a way station between dependency and independence. In 2015, according to HUD, the average length of stay in assisted housing was six years, up from 3.5 years in 1995. "When I talk about getting government out of people's lives, I'm talking about getting government out of every aspect of their lives," Carson says. "I see myself as trying to design policies and programs that develop our human capital, that move people along."

BUT WITH THE VAST MAJORITY of HUD's budget going to renewing existing rental assistance, it's not that easy. For starters, 57% of households receiving federal rental subsidies are headed by someone who is elderly or disabled, according to HUD. It's harder for them to find a job. Helping the rest presents its own challenges. "A family or an individual cannot think about bettering themselves if they have unstable housing," says Stephen Glaude, a HUD deputy undersecretary to President George H.W. Bush. "If they're worried about where they're going to live, they can't think about career, they can't think about education, they can't think about upward mobility."

Even without cuts, Carson has inherited a diminished agency. As rents rise, more families need help, and each HUD dollar does a little less. About 5 million households received rental assistance in 2016, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, but at least three times as many more qualify and don't receive the help. Explains Barbara Sard, vice president for housing policy at CBPP: "There's no way out of this box except more money."

Carson's overall message is largely in sync with the traditional conservative approach to HUD: limit federal regulations on housing. Community development block grants, which are some of the most flexible ones that HUD allocates, were created under a Republican President in the 1970s. (Trump wants to cut them.) Still, agency veterans say Carson has to devise credible programs that will accomplish his goals of weaning people off government aid. "If the reform agenda of Secretary Carson is going to rely on people having faith and doing more for themselves, that's fine," says Glaude, but "it cannot be the only conversation."

Carson wants to grow the Moving to Work program, which lets state and local housing agencies test new policies, including experimenting with work requirements. Much of the answer to the agency's challenges, he says, lies in the private sector. He's looking at expanding the low-income-housing tax credit, which provides tax breaks to build affordable housing, and making it easier for public housing developments to use private money for property improvements. "I want to move us from a mind-set, not only at HUD but across the nation," Carson says, "of government riding in on a white horse with a bucket of money."

But in Baltimore he was the man on the white horse, moving from Stewart's home to Linda Herndon's, a brick house from which the lead paint had been removed, thanks to $13,800 from HUD. There was evidence of Herndon's grandniece throughout the home: a bedroom decorated with *Frozen* accessories, a drawing of Wonder Woman on the family-room mantel. Carson looked slightly out of place in his suit and red tie: a government official surrounded by camera crews on the back patio as neighbors peered curiously over low fences. But then he got an idea, maybe spurred by his campaign's grassroots ethos. Had Herndon's use of the grant, he asked, prompted any of her neighbors to apply for it too? "Actually, I started promoting the lead program!" Herndon declared. "I said, 'Y'all, that program is awesome.'"

Carson smiled. Debates about the perils of federal aid could wait. This was the kind of pro-government initiative he was learning to like. ◻

WOMEN'S HEALTH

The Department of Health and Human Services rolled back a rule requiring employers to include birth-control coverage in health-insurance plans.

MINING

The Labor Department delayed a requirement that mines are inspected before the start of a shift.

HUNTING

The Interior Department changed its rules to allow lead bullets and tackle to be used on federal lands.

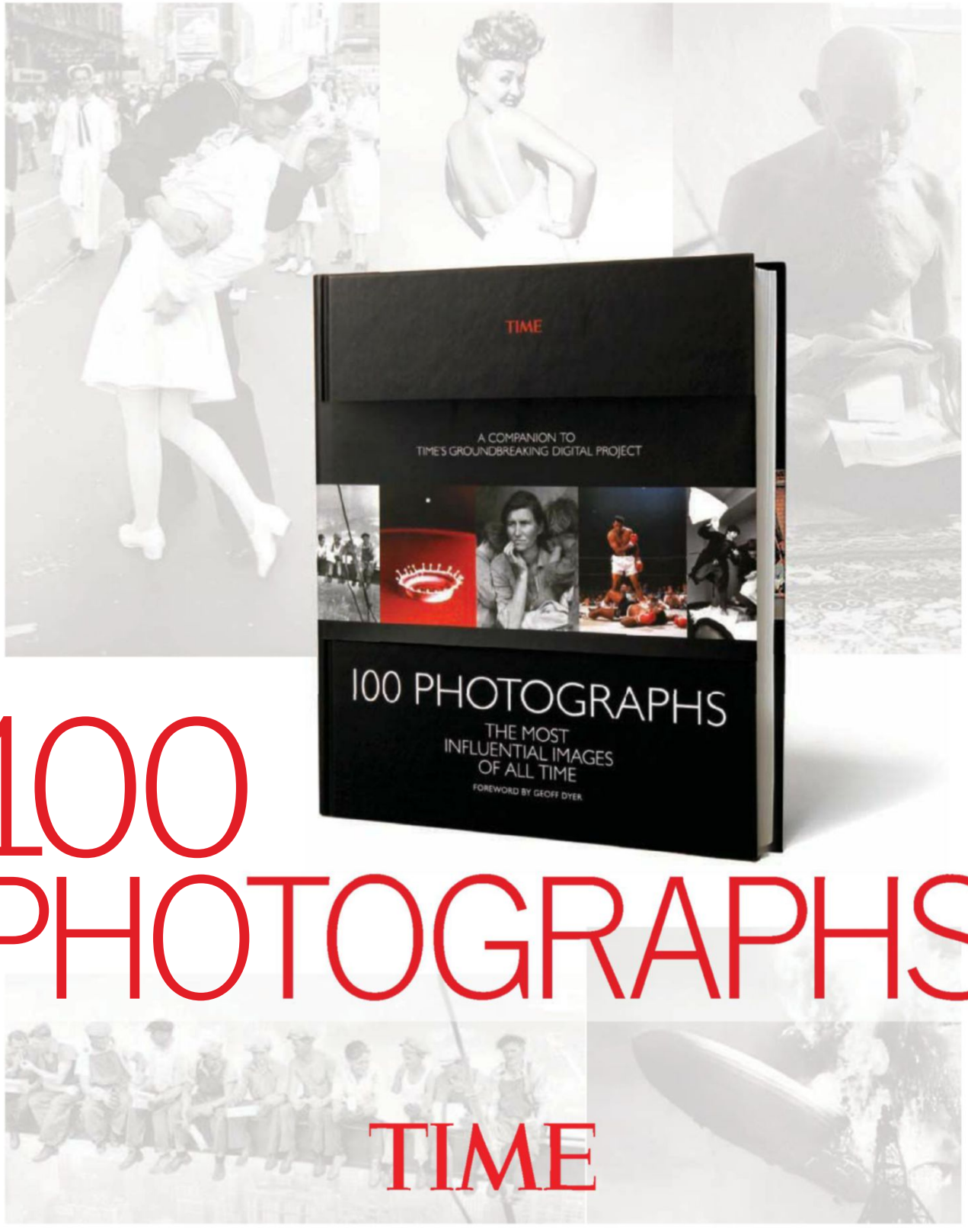
FINANCIAL ADVISERS

The Labor Department slow-walked full implementation of a rule requiring investment professionals to prioritize their clients' best interests.

ETHICS

The Office of Management and Budget initially ignored requests from the Office of Government Ethics, neutering the watchdog that oversees conflicts of interest.

OWN A MOMENT IN TIME.



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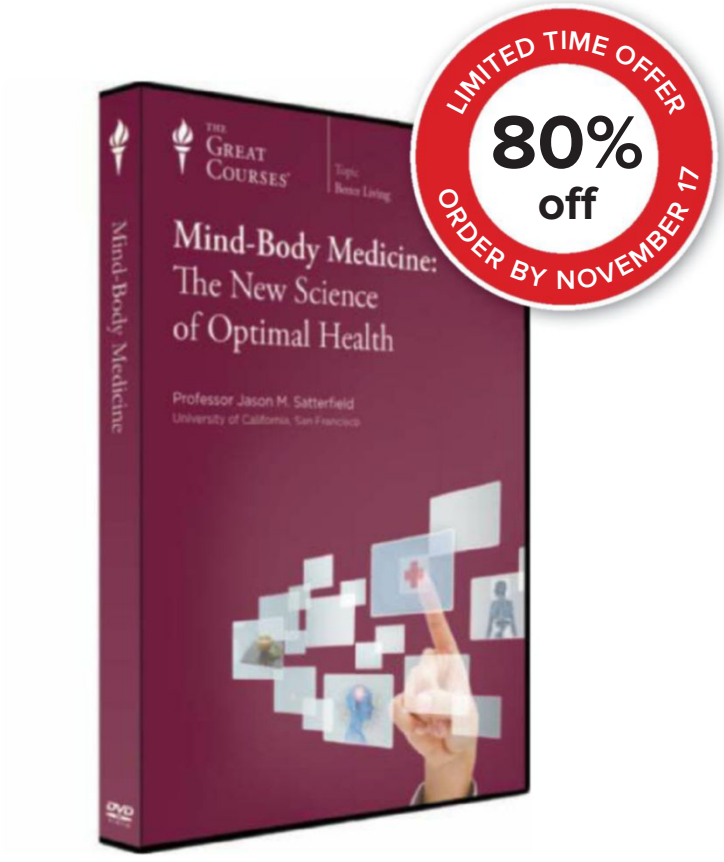

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BETSY DEVOS | DEPT. OF EDUCATION

JIM WATSON—GETTY IMAGES

VIEWPOINT

BETSY DEVOS IS RIGHTING GOVERNMENT OVERREACH ON CAMPUSES

By Stuart Taylor Jr.

On Sept. 7, Education Secretary Betsy DeVos took on one of former President Barack Obama's most controversial regulatory actions: a set of 2011 campus disciplinary procedures for students accused of sexual assault. Arguing that victims of assault were being denied justice, the Obama White House weakened traditional protections for the accused, like presumption of innocence and the right to cross-examine an accuser. DeVos, in a speech at George Mason University, said the system "is shameful, it is wholly un-American, and it is anathema to the system of self-governance to which our Founders pledged their lives over 240 years ago."

Not surprisingly, DeVos was immediately attacked. From her poor performance at her Jan. 17 nomination hearing to her preference for charter schools over public education and her Oct. 2 decision to rescind 72 policy documents on the rights of students with disabilities, DeVos has been a lightning rod. The campus sexual-assault speech was another opportunity for opponents to strike. On a call with activists convened in response to her speech a day later, former Vice President Joe Biden weighed in. Biden, who had been the force behind the Obama regulations, called supporters of the DeVos approach "culturally Neanderthals," and told the activists they needed to stand up against people like "those Nazis marching" in Charlottesville.

Less predictable was the support DeVos received from other, traditionally liberal quarters. She won cautious applause from the editorial boards of the Washington *Post*, the Boston *Globe* and *USA Today*. Even more surprising, she is making common cause with some respected feminist law professors, major organizations of lawyers and even California Governor Jerry Brown, a progressive Democrat. On Oct. 15, Brown vetoed a bill designed to perpetuate the Obama regulations in his state, citing some "colleges' failure to uphold due process for accused students."

Most important, universities seeking to comport with the 2011 orders, which were adopted without the usual vetting by public notice and comment, have fared poorly when sued. Since 2011, accused males who say they were wrongly punished have been on the winning side of 69 judicial decisions—mostly preliminary rulings—and fewer than 50 have lost, according to my co-author, professor KC Johnson of Brooklyn College, an expert on campus due-process debates, who keeps a tally of lawsuits by students who say they were wrongly accused.

The Obama Administration's actions on campus sexual assault were a textbook example of regulatory overreach. In the name of enforcing Title IX, it ordered thousands of universities to find an accused student guilty even if the evidence tipped only slightly (as by 51% to 49%) against innocence, impose sharp limitations on cross-examination of accusers and adopt "training" rules for campus courts.

After DeVos' agency formally rescinded the Obama mandates with a stroke of a pen on Sept. 22, the Education Department announced that it would develop detailed replacement regulations for campus sexual-assault cases, publish them, invite public comments and then adopt final rules, probably by next fall. In the interim, it announced less-than-forceful guidance for schools on Title IX. In August, four feminist Harvard Law School professors wrote a joint letter to the Education Department urging reforms similar to those DeVos seems to be planning. But changing things on the ground will be a challenge at the many campuses that are steeped in presuming guilt.

Taylor co-authored, with KC Johnson, The Campus Rape Frenzy: The Attack on Due Process at America's Universities *(Encounter Books 2017)*

INTERVIEW

VANESSA GRIGORIADIS ON HER NEW BOOK *BLURRED LINES,* WHICH EXPLORES CAMPUS RAPE AND TITLE IX

"Pretending that we can just blow up the whole campus court system and there'll be justice is another mess. I believe we can resolve many Americans' hesitation about whether the courts should be involved in this issue if we admit that some of the behavior on campus may be immoral rather than criminal. Then it makes sense for the campus court to come into play, because campus courts generally deal with immoral behavior such as plagiarism. This is a way of handling episodes that involve profound thoughtlessness. American schools today are interested in thinking about this issue in this way. This is part of why they have enacted new sex rules on campus—I'm specifically talking about 'Yes Means Yes,' the idea that you'd have to ask for permission for sex rather than require a partner to say no.

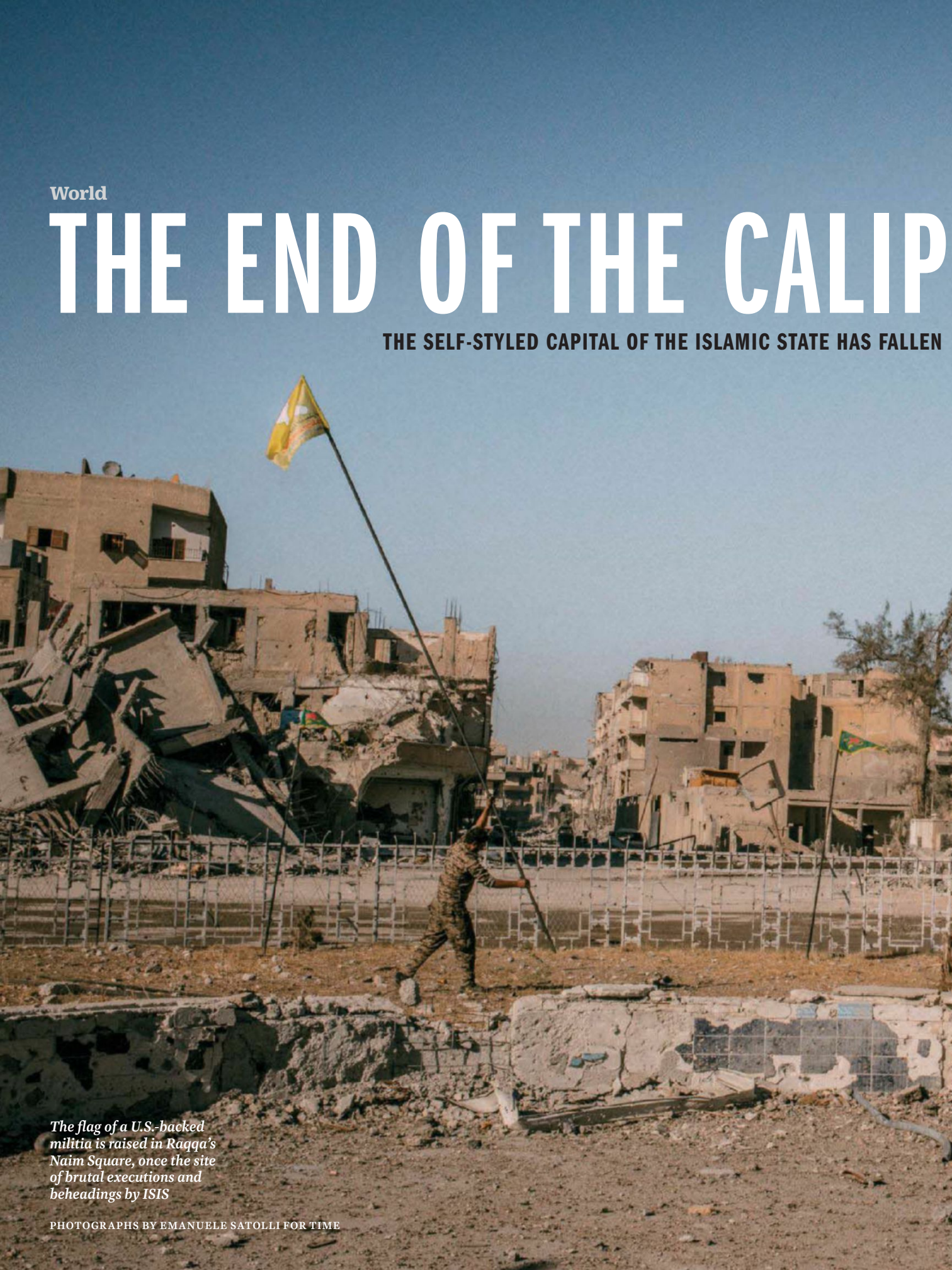
I think Betsy DeVos has called attention fairly to the boys who may be guilty by the letter of new campus sex rules but not by the spirit. There are some students being expelled or suspended who made some honest mistakes, who did not get the correct permission for sexual intercourse—but Yes Means Yes will take some time to get used to if you're a boy who grew up in American culture where you have movies and TV shows and music telling you to push as hard as you can because girls say no when they really mean yes. Just throwing this new rule at them and expecting them to comply is pretty ambitious. What I don't like is that she's couched all of this in the language of due process. The way she talks about it implies there's nothing to see here in terms of gender parity, and I just don't think that's the case." *—Lucy Feldman*

To read the full interview, visit time.com/blurredlines

World

THE END OF THE CALIP

THE SELF-STYLED CAPITAL OF THE ISLAMIC STATE HAS FALLEN



The flag of a U.S.-backed militia is raised in Raqqa's Naim Square, once the site of brutal executions and beheadings by ISIS

PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMANUELE SATOLLI FOR TIME

HATE

BY JARED MALSIN/RAQQA

WHEN AHMED HASSAN WAS A CHILD, HE played soccer in a stadium in the center of Raqqa, a Syrian city on the banks of the Euphrates River where he grew up. Generations of kids like Hassan remember playing on its fields. But when Islamic State militants took control of the city in 2014, the stadium became a prison. The locker rooms were turned into cells, with cages where men were kept in solitary confinement. It was here where the last ISIS fighters staged their final stand as the city they once styled as their capital was recaptured in October by an alliance of Syrian militias backed by U.S. airpower.

Hassan, now age 33 and a media officer for the militias known as the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), was among the first to visit the stadium as bulldozers razed debris from the battle. "I don't know how to explain how I feel," he said. "First, there's joy that the city is finally liberated. There's sadness too, as I remember my friends who died as martyrs here."

Also, Raqqa is now in ruins. More than 4,450 airstrikes by the U.S.-led military coalition and others have left its streets a moonscape of shattered buildings and mountains of detritus. What was once a city of 200,000 is now all but deserted. Clouds of flies hover near collapsed buildings, a sign of the bodies crushed beneath. The Baghdad Gate, a brick relic from the 8th century, stands over the skeletons of slain ISIS fighters that lie in the open air, their flesh eaten away by dogs.

When the SDF announced the liberation of Raqqa on Oct. 17, it marked the fall of the Islamic State's global nerve center. Here was where ISIS first consolidated control of an urban population, before it swept over the border into Iraq, capturing the city of Mosul and coming within 37 miles of Baghdad. In June 2014 the group's leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, hailed the establishment of an Islamic "caliphate" to rule over not just the 10 million people in the swaths of Iraq and Syria that the group would control at its height. The claim of leadership extended to Sunni Muslims around the world, who were urged to join an army that had taken vast territory with lightning speed.

With the fall of Raqqa, this idea of a caliphate is at an end. No longer in control of any major city in Iraq or Syria, ISIS is on the verge of defeat as a conventional military force. The fighting is not over completely, but the remaining 3,500 to 5,500 militants are confined to a series of towns along the Euphrates and a stretch of desert straddling the Iraq-Syria border.

What remains is a country split into pieces as Syria's bloody civil war rolls into a seventh year. In the country's east, the SDF, a coalition of militias dominated by Kurdish armed groups, has taken over a sizable chunk of the country, aided since 2014 by U.S. airpower and special forces. In Syria's west, the regime of President Bashar Assad has consolidated its hold on the country's main population centers, including Damascus and Aleppo. Backed by Russian airpower and Iranian military aid, Assad has nearly defeated the Islamist-dominated rebel groups spawned in the chaos of Syria's 2011 revolution. The insurgents still hold scraps of territory, but they have no hope of challenging Assad's hold on power.

As each alliance eats up more and more territory formerly held by the Islamic State, they come closer to a standoff. If Assad follows through on his vow to reclaim the whole of the country, his forces will be pitted against the Syrian Kurdish fighters, who are unsure of how long the U.S. will lend them support. The empire of the Islamic State is in ruins. No one yet knows who will rule over the rubble.

A LITTLE LESS than seven years ago, Raqqa was a diverse and lively regional capital. From the 1950s onward, the growth of agriculture brought farmworkers and government employees from across the country, swelling the population. Some of the city's former residents have fond memories of cool evenings along the river. "In our memories, it's a beautiful city beside the river. Everyone from Raqqa has a memory of those riverbanks," said Ibrahim Hassan, a lawyer and opposition activist who is now an official with the Raqqa civil council, a provisional government in charge of overseeing reconstruction.

The trouble began in March 2011, when protests broke out here and in Syria's other main cities amid the Arab Spring revolts. People in Raqqa continued to march even as government troops rounded up demonstrators and tortured them, opened fire on crowds and sent the military to restore order. Civil protest turned to armed insurrection, and Raqqa fell into rebel hands in March 2013. Chaos reigned as rival rebel groups took control of different parts of the city.

The most powerful fighters were

Clockwise from top left: A living room in Raqqa, an ISIS warehouse window, the Ein Issa camp for internally displaced people, a battered cash machine

the Islamists, including the conservative Ahrar al-Sham and Jabhat al-Nusra, a group now known as Hayat Tahrir al-Sham that was linked to al-Qaeda at the time. But none were more powerful, or more distinctive, than the fighters of the Islamic State. Their uniform was the *shalwar kameez,* a loose-fitting outfit from the Indian subcontinent that was nearly unheard of in Syria. "They opened their centers in every neighborhood. We knew something was going to happen, because they didn't mix with the people," remembers Hassan.

ISIS crushed the other rebel groups in Raqqa over the remainder of 2013, using a car bomb to wipe out one rival brigade. From there, the group spread its tentacles into Iraq and Syria. Raqqa became the purest example of the Islamic State's experiment in jihadist governance. ISIS carried out public executions, displaying severed heads in a public square. Satellite dishes, cell phones and music were banned. The tiniest infraction could provoke a beating or arrest by the *hisba* patrols, the religious police. A man named Mohamed Qassam, 59, told TIME he was beaten for saying, in an argument with his wife inside a government office, "I swear by my honor," rather than "I swear by God."

The group's aspiration to build a state was fatally undermined by its other ideological aim, which was to provoke an apocalyptic confrontation with its opponents. Following ISIS's sweep across Iraq, its massacres of Yezidis and the videotaped executions of American journalists James Foley and Steven Sotloff, former President Barack Obama sent the U.S. back to war in the region in September 2014. U.S. and allied countries deployed airpower, artillery and special-operations forces to support Iraqi and Syrian forces fighting back against ISIS—an effort that has continued under President Donald Trump. After more than two

years of fighting, Islamic State militants fell back to their main prizes. In Iraq, they fought for Mosul, the largest city they had captured. In Syria, they fought for Raqqa, their de facto capital. Mosul fell in July after nearly nine months of fighting by Iraqi forces, some of the most intense urban fighting since the end of World War II. In Raqqa, the battle was different.

Unlike the Iraqi military, with its tanks and armored vehicles, the SDF are lightly armed, and the militias required even more intense air support during the battle for Raqqa. In August alone, U.S.-led forces loosed more than 5,775 individual bombs, shells and missiles into the city. As a result, the destruction in Raqqa is complete, with the city totally empty of its inhabitants. In interviews, some former residents said the coalition's shelling was the reason they fled the city in the end. A 47-year-old artist from the area who asked to have his name withheld because he believes his son is still in ISIS custody said an airstrike on a hospital in the village of Maysaloon prompted him to flee with his family. "The whole village escaped," he said.

The ultimate toll on civilians is a matter of dispute. Airwars, a monitoring group based in London, reported that 433 civilians likely died as a result of U.S.-led strikes on Raqqa just in the month of August. Colonel Ryan Dillon, a spokesman for the U.S.-led coalition, said the military has not yet been able to assess the deaths claimed by Airwars but said the coalition "strikes only valid military targets." Still, some civilian deaths may be uncovered as the rubble is slowly cleared away. Michael Enright, a British actor who volunteered to fight with the Syrian militias battling ISIS, described an incident during the final days of the battle where he spotted a civilian and an ISIS fighter through the scope of a sniper rifle in a house across the front line. "I've got all these moral dilemmas going on inside of me and getting ready to shoot, and an American airstrike comes in and just goes *bang* with that house and the one next door," he said. "I thought, Well, no more moral dilemma."

After a grueling four months of urban fighting and heavy bombing by American warplanes, the SDF trapped a few hundred remaining Islamic State gunmen in a tiny sliver of the city. After weeks of siege, 275 Syrian fighters among the ISIS core

Members of the Syrian Democratic Forces at the recently liberated Naim Square in Raqqa

ANI
CHOCOLATE
HIGHWAY
CAKE

agreed to leave with their families in mid-October. In a deal brokered by local officials, they were evacuated on buses, leaving a few dozen foreign fighters to die as the militias moved in. "We didn't find any of them. All of their bodies are under the buildings. We can only smell them," one SDF member told TIME.

The caliphate's fall doesn't mean the end of ISIS. In Iraq and Syria, the group will live on as an insurgency that is expected to attack civilians and harass opposing forces for years to come. Satellite "states" have emerged in ungoverned spaces within Libya, Egypt, Afghanistan and the Philippines. ISIS is also expected to continue its campaign of terrorism across the world, either by trained operatives or self-motivated attackers. In 2016, the group's leaders urged potential foreign recruits not to travel to Iraq and Syria, and instead launch "better and more enduring" attacks at home. At least 5,600 people have returned to 33 home countries after traveling to Islamic State territory, according to the Soufan Center, a security analysis firm in New York. Still, the state that the group for years boasted "remains and expands" now exists only in the group's propaganda. The project of statehood begun by al-Baghdadi—whose fate is unknown—is at an end.

IN RAQQA, the liberation was celebrated as a great victory by the Kurdish forces. On Oct. 19, the Kurdish-led women's militia held a celebration in Naim Square, where ISIS had been known to carry out public executions. There, the militia raised a huge banner bearing the face of Abdullah Ocalan, the incarcerated founder of the militant Kurdistan Workers' Party, considered a terrorist group by the U.S. for its attacks within Turkey.

The victory celebration began with a convoy of vehicles carrying female militia members honking and cheering as they circled the square. The fighters descended from the trucks carrying their assault rifles and assembled in rows under Ocalan's portrait. Among them were teenagers from Raqqa, recruited out of nearby displacement camps. One, who called herself Belasan, said she was 17. Another, Suria, was 15. A commander, Rojda Felat, who co-led the assault on Raqqa, confirmed that the group recruits children. "Arab culture is different. They have problems in their families like getting married at a young age," she said. "We never take them to fight until they're 18."

Images of the event were broadcast across the region, leaving U.S. officials red-faced. Here was the U.S.-backed militia proclaiming its victory in Raqqa by raising the banner of a group Washington has labeled terrorists. The U.S. embassy in Ankara felt obligated to reiterate that Ocalan was "not worthy of respect." A U.S. official said the military raised concerns to the SDF about the ceremony. "We've talked to them for two years about this. Symbols mean something from both sides," said a U.S. military adviser who was present during the meeting.

It was a symbol, too, of the thorny problem with "friends" of the U.S. in Syria now that the fight against the Islamic State is all but over. Turkey, a key NATO ally, sees Kurdish-led militias in Syria as a terrorist group and a potential threat. In April, Turkey even launched airstrikes on the SDF, showing a willingness to endanger American soldiers working with them. In a parallel dilemma in Iraq, the U.S. finds itself allied with both sides in a growing fight between the government in Baghdad and the Kurdistan administration in the north. The U.S. has been arming, training and assisting the two in the war against ISIS, a fight that is now fading in political relevance as civil conflicts in both countries multiply.

These alliances complicate what could be a final chapter in the Syrian civil war. Although Assad essentially ceded the region surrounding Raqqa to Kurdish groups at the outset of the civil war, the Kurds fear that Assad will renew attempts to reconquer the entire country, including their autonomous region they call Rojava. The areas under Kurdish control include the country's largest oil fields, a critical strategic prize for the government in Damascus. In Iraq, the government's seizure of territory held by Kurds there has only heightened those fears. Trump's strategy of confronting Assad's ally Iran has also raised the risk of a proxy conflagration on the ground in Syria.

Lieut. General Paul Funk, the U.S. coalition commander, sat inside an air-conditioned tent at a dusty U.S. airstrip at Kobane, the first city U.S. bombs leveled to defeat ISIS. He had flown into Syria that morning, Oct. 21, to congratulate

the SDF militia leaders on their victory in Raqqa. Confronted with questions about the geopolitical maelstrom surrounding the U.S. presence in Syria, he reiterated an axiom of U.S. policy. "My mission is to defeat Daesh," he said, using a disparaging Arabic term for the group, "and that's what we're doing." In other words, the war on ISIS exists outside the surreal complexity of the Syrian conflict.

The assault on the Islamic State offers Western powers a simplistic narrative of good against evil. It's not hard to rally international opposition to warlords who rape women, behead dissidents and bomb European cities. But now that the fight is winding down, the realities of America's

A Syrian Democratic Forces fighter in Raqqa takes a selfie atop a burned-out bus

role in the Syrian war is something Washington has to grapple with. "The U.S. can only really win in Syria and Iraq if it can move beyond defeating ISIS to creating some lasting form of security and stability," said Anthony Cordesman, the Arleigh A. Burke chair in strategy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "At present, the U.S. lacks any clear plan to achieve this in either country."

In Syria, there's no easy answer. Keeping the approximately 900 U.S. troops on the ground risks a confrontation with the Assad regime and its backers. Withdrawing too quickly would expose the SDF to attacks by the same. Quitting Syria completely risks creating a vacuum for ISIS or a successor to regain strength. U.S. military officials say they have not received instructions from the Trump Administration stating whether U.S. forces will remain in northeast Syria for the long haul. However, a senior Administration official told TIME, "We don't intend to repeat the previous Administration's mistake of abandoning the fight against the terrorists without consolidating the gains we and our partners have made."

On the streets of Raqqa, there are reminders everywhere of an urban society that was held captive by ISIS and later collapsed during the battle. The doors of some stores are ripped open. Here, a children's toy store with miniature plastic trucks on the shelves, now caked in dust. There, a barbershop, now piled high with metal and debris. Inside one building was a huge stockpile of weapons that had been set on fire. Room upon room revealed stacks of blackened mortars and rockets. One entire room was occupied by a pile of AK-47s that had melted together, hundreds of guns fused by the flames into a gnarled metal statue. On the wall the blaze had left an indelible mark the shape of a flame, an echo of violence inscribed among the ashes. —*With reporting by* ELIZABETH DIAS/WASHINGTON

Health

We Need to Talk About Kids and Smartphones

Teen depression has surged, fueling concern about mobile devices

By Markham Heid

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NINA LANGTON THOUGHT SHE HAD NO RIGHT TO BE DEPRESSED. She had a great group of friends, lived in a prosperous neighborhood and was close with her parents. Like most 16-year-olds at her Connecticut high school, Nina spent much of her free time on her smartphone. But unlike many of her classmates, she was never "targeted" on social media—her word for the bullying and criticism that takes place daily on apps like Snapchat. "Part of what made my depression so difficult was that I didn't understand why I was feeling so sad," she says.

Later, after her attempted suicide and during her stay at a rehabilitation facility, Nina and her therapist identified body-image insecurity as the foundation of her woe. "I was spending a lot of time stalking models on Instagram, and I worried a lot about how I looked," says Nina, who is now 17. She'd stay up late in her bedroom, looking at social media on her phone, and poor sleep—coupled with an eating disorder—gradually snowballed until suicide felt like her only option. "I didn't totally want to be gone," she says. "I just wanted help and didn't know how else to get it."

Nina's mom, Christine Langton, says she was "completely caught off guard" by her daughter's suicide attempt. "Nina was funny, athletic, smart, personable … depression was just not on my radar," she says. In hindsight, Christine says she wishes she had done more to moderate her daughter's smartphone use. "It didn't occur to me not to let her have the phone in her room at night," she says. "I just wasn't thinking about the impact of the phone on her self-esteem or self-image."

It seems like every generation of parents has a collective freak-out when it comes to kids and new technologies; television and video games each inspired widespread hand-wringing among grownups. But the inescapability of today's mobile devices—combined with the allure of social media—seems to separate smartphones from older screen-based media. Parents, teenagers and researchers agree that smartphones are having a profound impact on the way adolescents

Nina Langton, 17, shown in her college dorm room, says social media contributed to her depression

PHOTOGRAPH BY RANIA MATAR FOR TIME

today communicate with one another and spend their free time. And while some experts say it's too soon to ring alarm bells about smartphones, others argue that we understand enough about young people's emotional and developmental vulnerabilities to recommend restricting kids' escalating phone habits.

The latest statistics on teenage mental health underscore the urgency of this debate. Between 2010 and 2016, the number of adolescents who experienced at least one major depressive episode leaped by 60%, according to a nationwide survey conducted by a branch of the Department of Health and Human Services. The 2016 HHS survey of 17,000 kids found that about 13% of them had at least one major depressive episode the prior year, compared with 8% of the kids surveyed in 2010. Suicide deaths among people ages 10 to 19 have also risen sharply; among teenage girls, suicide has reached 40-year highs, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. All this follows a period during the late 1990s and early 2000s when rates of adolescent depression and suicide mostly held steady or declined.

"These increases are huge—possibly unprecedented," says Jean Twenge, a professor of psychology at San Diego State University and the author of *iGen,* which examines how today's superconnected teens are less happy and less prepared for adulthood than past generations. In a peer-reviewed study that will appear later this year in the journal *Clinical Psychological Science,* Twenge shows that, after 2010, teens who spent more time on digital devices were more likely to report mental-health issues than those who spent time on nonscreen activities.

Using data collected between 2010 and 2015 from more than 500,000 adolescents nationwide, Twenge's study found that kids who spent three hours a day or more on smartphones or other electronic devices were 34% more likely to suffer at least one suicide-related behavior—including feeling hopeless or seriously considering suicide—than kids who used devices two hours a day or less. Among kids who used devices five or more hours a day, 48% had at least one suicide-related outcome. Overall, kids in the study who spent low amounts of time engaged in real-life social interaction but high amounts of time on social media were the most likely to be depressed.

Twenge is quick to acknowledge that her research does not prove that a cause-and-effect relationship exists between smartphones and depression. Some experts have pointed to the aftermath of the Great Recession or rising student workloads as possible non-device explanations for young people's recent struggles. "But when you look at the economic or homework data, it doesn't line up with the rise in teen suicide or depression," Twenge says. Youth smartphone ownership does. "I'm open to exploring other factors, but I think the more we learn about kids and smartphones, the more we're going to see that limiting their exposure is a good idea."

> **'What this generation is going through right now with technology is a giant experiment.'**
>
> **FRANCES JENSEN,** chair of neurology at the University of Pennsylvania's Perelman School of Medicine

Others agree that it's time to approach adolescent device use with greater caution. "What this generation is going through right now with technology is a giant experiment, and we don't know what's going to happen," says Frances Jensen, chair of neurology at the University of Pennsylvania's Perelman School of Medicine. While the science on kids and technology is incomplete, Jensen says that what we know about the minds of tweens and teens suggests that giving a young person all-the-time access to an Internet-connected device "may be playing with fire."

TO UNDERSTAND HOW device use may be affecting a young person's mental health, it's important to recognize the complex changes occurring in an adolescent's still-developing brain. For one thing, that brain is incredibly plastic and able to adapt—that is, physically change—in response to novel activities or environmental cues, says Jensen, who is also the author of *The Teenage Brain.*

Some research has already linked media multitasking—texting, using social media and rapidly switching among smartphone-based apps—with lower gray-matter volume in the brain's anterior cingulate cortex (ACC), a region involved in emotion processing and decision-making. More research has associated lower ACC volumes with depression and addiction disorders.

"We know for a fact that teens have very underdeveloped impulse control and empathy and judgment, compared with adults," Jensen says. This may lead them to disturbing online content or encounters—stuff a more mature mind would know to avoid. Teens also have a hyperactive risk-reward system that allows them to learn—but also to become addicted—much more quickly than grownups, she says. Research has linked social media and other phone-based activities with an uptick in feel-good neurochemicals like dopamine, which could drive compulsive device use and promote feelings of distraction, fatigue or irritability when kids are separated from their phones.

Another area of the brain—the prefrontal cortex—is critical for focus and interpreting human emotion, and doesn't fully develop until a person's mid-20s, says Paul Atchley, a professor of psychology at the University of Kansas. "During our teenage years, it's important to train that prefrontal cortex not to be easily distracted," he says. "What we're seeing in our work is that young people are constantly distracted and also less sensitive to the emotions of others."

But some scientists contend that there isn't enough evidence to condemn smartphones. "I see the rise in depression, especially among girls, and I understand why people are making these connections

with new technologies," says Candice Odgers, a professor of psychology and neuroscience at Duke University who has published research on teenagers and tech. "But so far we have very little data to suggest mobile technologies are causing anxiety or social impairments." She points to evidence that some young people, particularly marginalized groups like LGBT youth, can derive benefits from online support networks and communication with friends and family. Odgers adds that jumping to conclusions and vilifying smartphones may lead us away from factors that may turn out to be more significant—a worry raised by other experts.

As researchers debate appropriate public health messaging, kids are receiving their first smartphone at ever-younger ages—the average is 10, according to one recent estimate—and they're spending more and more time on their devices. "I am probably on my phone 10 hours a day," says Santi Potocnik Senarighi, a 16-year-old 11th grader in Denver. Even when he's not using his phone, it's always with him, and he never considers taking a break. "This is part of my life and part of my work, and [that] means I need to be in constant contact."

Santi's dad, Billy Potocnik, says he worries about his son's phone habit. But every one of Santi's friends has a smartphone and uses it constantly, and so Potocnik says confiscating his son's phone seems oppressive. To complicate matters, many schools and after-school groups now use social media or online platforms to coordinate events or post grades and homework. "It's not as simple as saying, O.K., time to take a break from your phone," Potocnik says.

COLLEEN NISBET has been a high school guidance counselor for more than two decades. One of her duties at Connecticut's Granby Memorial High School is to monitor students during their lunch periods. "Lunch was always a very social time when students were interacting and letting out some energy," she says. "Now they sit with their phones out and barely talk to each other."

This scene—of young people gathering in parks or at houses only to sit silently and stare at screens—comes up frequently when talking with parents

5 Tips to Get Teens to Put Down Their Smartphones

Keep devices out of kids' bedrooms

There is strong data linking bedroom screen time with a variety of risks—particularly sleep loss, says David Hill, director of the American Academy of Pediatrics Council on Communications and Media. Even among adults, before-bed media use is associated with insomnia. And kids need more sleep than grownups. Taking away a child's phone at bedtime can be a battle, but it's worth the fight.

Set online firewalls and data cutoffs

It's unrealistic to expect teens to stay away from illicit content or to moderate their social-media use, says Frances Jensen, chair of neurology at the University of Pennsylvania. A young person's brain is wired for exploration and, to some extent, thrill-seeking—not restraint. Most devices and Internet providers, as well as some apps, offer parenting tools that restrict access to problematic content and curb data use. Take advantage of them.

Create a device contract

"This is something you create with your child that details rules around their device use," says Yalda Uhls, an assistant adjunct professor at UCLA and the author of *Media Moms & Digital Dads.* These rules could include no smartphones at the dinner table, or no more than an hour of social media use after school. If a child violates the rules, he or she should lose the phone for a period of time.

Model healthy device behaviors

Just as kids struggle to stay off their phones, so do parents. And if you're a phone junkie yourself, you can't expect your kids to be any different, says Jensen. Apart from putting your own phone away while driving or during mealtimes, it's important to recognize that your kids see what you put online. If you're criticizing another parent on Facebook or slamming someone's political beliefs on Twitter, your kids will follow suit.

Consider old-school flip phones

Or try a smartphone without a data plan. This may seem like overkill for some parents—especially those of older teens. But unconnected phones still allow teens to call or text, says Jean Twenge, a professor of psychology at San Diego State University and the author of *iGen.* And kids can access social media or videos from home computers and tablets during their free time. But when they're out in the world, they won't be tempted with all-the-time access to screen-based distractions.

and kids. "When you're with people you don't know well or there's nothing to talk about, phones are out more because it's awkward," says Shannon Ohannessian, a 17-year-old senior at Farmington High School in Connecticut.

That avoidance of face-to-face engagement worries Brian Primack, director of the University of Pittsburgh's Center for Research on Media, Technology and Health. "Human beings are social animals," he says. "We evolved over millions of years to respond to eye contact and touch and shared laughter and real things right in front of us." If smartphones are interfering with a teen's facility for these normal human behaviors, that's a big deal, he adds.

But while they're not always speaking out loud, kids today are talking to each other—and about each other—on their phones. Not all of it is friendly. "They tell me they're making comments or criticizing each other to friends while they're all sitting together," says Nisbet. Backbiting and gossip are nothing new, of course. But research suggests that, even among adults, the Internet has a disinhibition effect that leads people to speak in coarser, crueler ways than they would offline.

Maryellen Pachler, a Yale-trained nurse practitioner who specializes in the treatment of adolescent anxiety disorders, says the glamor and gleam of social media is also fueling a rise in teen anxiety. "My patients see their friends' Snapchat or Instagram photos where they look so happy, and they feel like they're the only ones who are faking it," she says, referencing what researchers call the highlight-reel effect of social media. "I want to tell them, Listen, this girl you're jealous of—she was in here with me yesterday!"

Teenagers agree that social-media whitewashing is the rule, not the exception. "No one's going to post something that makes them look bad," Ohannessian says. "I know that, but it's still hard to separate what you see on social media from real life."

60%

Percentage rise in teenage depression in the U.S. between 2010 and 2016

10

Average age at which a child now receives his or her first smartphone

48%

Prevalence of suicide-related thoughts or actions among kids who use electronic devices five or more hours a day

SOURCES: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, INFLUENCE CENTRAL, CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE

THERE ARE DOUBTLESS many factors contributing to teen depression. Parents say kids today are busier than ever before, with their lives increasingly crammed with the extracurriculars required to gain admission to a good college. But even researchers who aren't ready to slam smartphones say it's important to restrict an adolescent's device habit. "I don't think these devices are the main cause, but I think they contribute to a lot of the things we worry about," says David Hill, director of the American Academy of Pediatrics Council on Communications and Media. He counsels parents to set more limits—especially when it comes to phones in the bedroom at night.

Educators are also grappling with smartphone-related dilemmas. Most schools allow smartphone use between classes and during free periods, but teachers say keeping students off their phones during class has become a tremendous burden. Now some schools are fighting back. Starting this fall, a few teamed up with a company called Yondr to restrict student smartphone access during school hours. Yondr makes lockable phone pouches that students keep with them but that can't be opened until the end of the day.

Allison Silvestri, the principal at San Lorenzo High School, near Oakland, Calif., says that since the school implemented the restrictions, "the changes have been profound." Kids are more focused and engaged during class, and student journals suggest that the high schoolers are feeling less stress. Silvestri says fewer fights have broken out this semester—a benefit she attributes to the absence of social media. "They have to look each other in the eye to make conflict happen," she says. "There's so much more joy and interaction, and I can't count the number of parents who have asked me, 'How do I buy this for my home?'"

The experiment at San Lorenzo doesn't meet the standards of the scientific method. But it's one more bit of evidence tying mobile devices to the troubles today's teenagers are facing. While there are helpful and healthy ways young people can use smartphones to enrich their lives, it's becoming harder to argue that the status quo—ubiquitous teen smartphone ownership, with near constant Internet access—is doing kids good.

A few months after her suicide attempt, Nina Langton addressed her classmates and spoke openly about her depression. She described the stigma of mental illness and lamented the fact that, while many teens experience depression, few are willing to talk about it. "I was worried for so long about opening up about my struggles, because I thought I would be judged," she said.

After her speech, "so many people my age reached out to me about their own experiences with technology and depression and therapy," she says. "I think this is a big problem that needs to be talked about more." ◻

'The more we learn about kids and smartphones, the more we're going to see that limiting their exposure is a good idea.'

JEAN TWENGE, professor of psychology at San Diego State University

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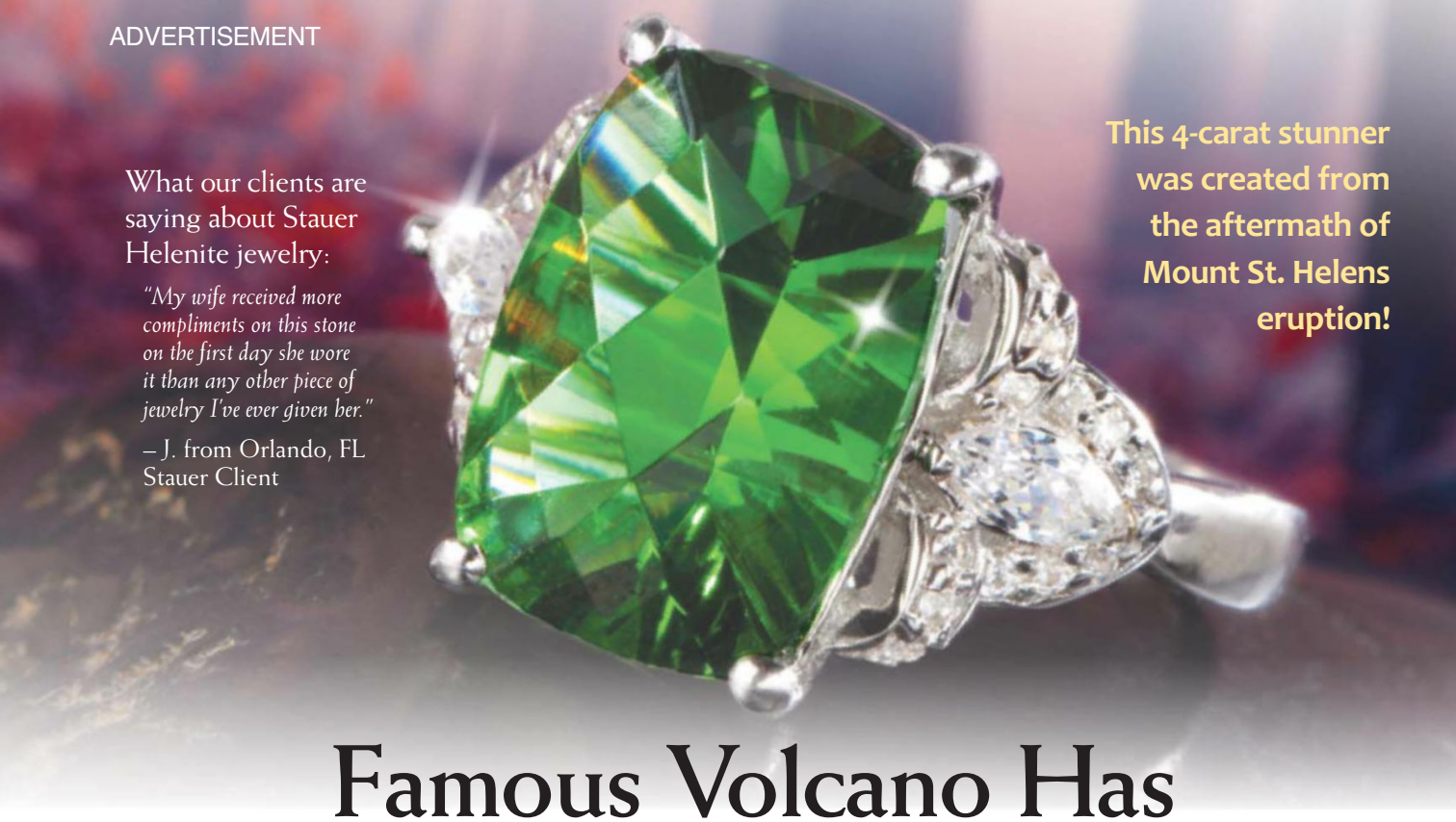

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Time Off

BOOKS

The Bush sisters talk politics and prose

By Sarah Begley

PHOTOGRAPH BY PERRY HAGOPIAN

'TIS THE SEASON OF THE POLITICAL MEMOIR, even for those who avoided last year's election glare. Barbara Bush and Jenna Bush Hager are the latest to jump on the bandwagon with *Sisters First,* a book that couldn't be called a tell-all—it's revealing, not shocking—but that breaks ranks with their Republican dynasty.

In alternating chapters, the former First Daughters recount stories about everything from their childhood in Midland, Texas (with visits to their presidential grandfather George H.W. Bush), through their father George W. Bush's White House years to Jenna's current career as an NBC News correspondent and Barbara's work as CEO and co-founder of the nonprofit Global Health Corps.

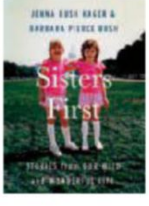
The 2016 election prompted them to write the book. Barbara, already well on the record in favor of same-sex marriage, voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016. Jenna wrote to Michelle Obama asking for advice on how to talk to her two daughters after Donald Trump's victory. She says *Sisters First* was above all a way of celebrating sisterhood. "If women everywhere had this, felt this empowerment—whether it's through a sibling or a friend or a colleague or whatever it is—maybe we'd be in a place where we felt better about the state of women in our country," Jenna says.

Among all First Children, Jenna and Barbara are the only twins—and they think that has made all the difference. "Having a twin meant that we had a partner going through everything at the same time as we were, whether that was going to school on the first day or going to our dad's Inauguration," says Barbara. "I think to have a partner that's your same age, not someone that is more mature and has a different view of the world than you, but someone that's experiencing the world in the same age and the same way as you, has been tremendously lucky."

The sisters are reticent to discuss their father's choices as President—his decisions "will ultimately be judged by history," Jenna writes in the book, and they say their role was to support, not to judge. They don't shy away from teasing him, though: while George W. Bush was President, they saw a bumper sticker that read, SOMEWHERE IN TEXAS A VILLAGE IS MISSING ITS IDIOT. Although it stung at first, the whole family eventually embraced it as a comic catchphrase.

Neither sister can envision a reality in which they would have worked for their father's Administration, as Ivanka Trump is doing. Both say they wouldn't have wanted to, but even if they hadn't been too young, "I think, regardless, Dad probably wouldn't have us work in the White House," says Jenna.

And anyway, the White House belongs to their youth. On a visit to see their grandparents at age 7, their older cousins convinced Jenna that maxi pads were meant to be stuck under the arms to absorb sweat. On a dare, she tried some on for size and descended the stairs to greet the grownups, including the then paramount leader of China, Deng Xiaoping, and a coterie of photographers. "Luckily for me," she writes, "the cameramen must have realized there are some photos that are just too awful to take." In 2006, Barbara visited Italy to attend the Winter Olympics and ended up at a lunch with then Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who told her, "If I was younger, I'd have children with you," she recalls. "A few sentences after that, the female translator stopped translating."



SISTER ACT The Bushes alternate chapters, jumping around in time and offering different perspectives on the White House and other parts of their lives.

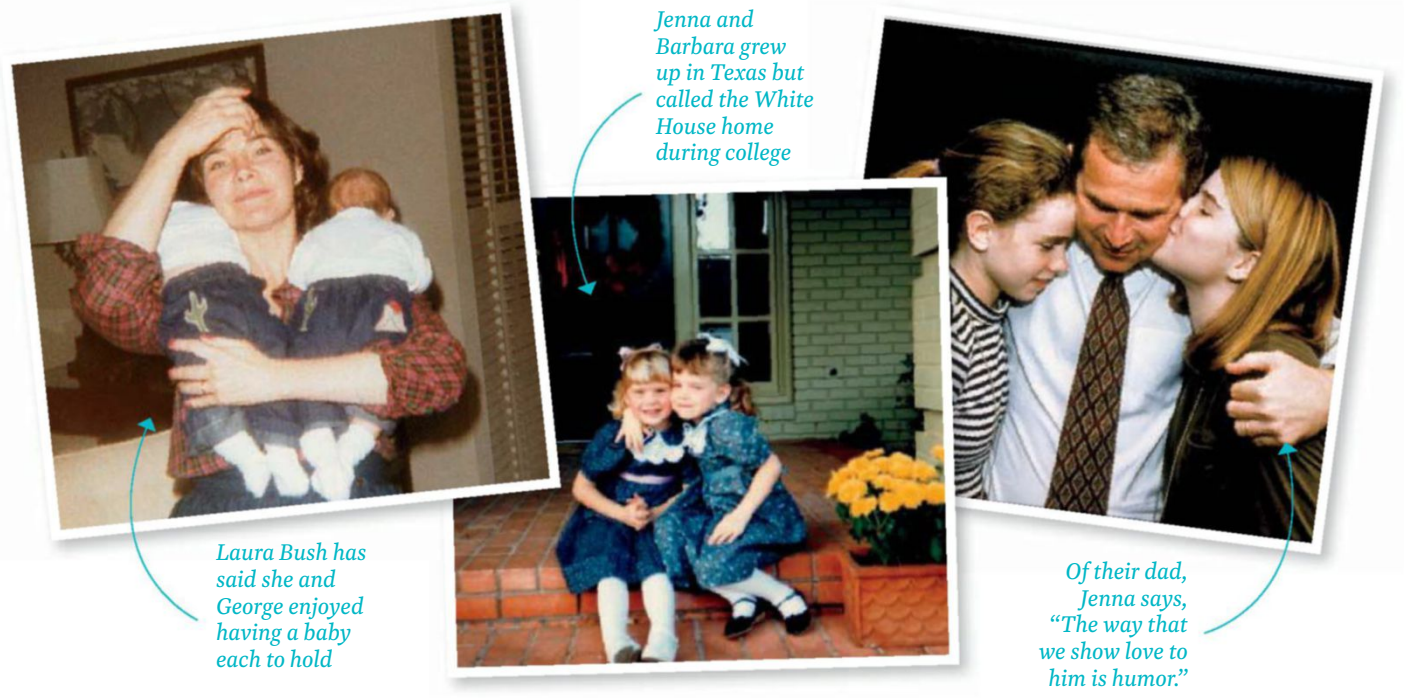
BEING FIRST DAUGHTERS brought a series of challenges for the sisters. They were in their first semester of college—Jenna at the University of Texas at Austin, Barbara at Yale University—during the 2000 election and recount. "Emotionally, I was unprepared," Barbara writes in the book. "The students living in the dorm across from mine had Al Gore signs in all their windows. I couldn't look out my window without seeing one. The only way to avoid them was to stare at the ground. I knew the signs were not personal, but it still felt like a stab each time I saw one." Later in her time at Yale, a teaching assistant offered to give her a better grade if she convinced her father not to go to war in Iraq. "That was definitely the most surprising thing that happened," she says. "Both the idea that she thought that I would be able to change the opinion of, truly, the Congress and the U.S., and you think your professors and TAs would be above that."

Local and campus culture skewed more to the right at UT Austin, though "being a Republican's daughter on any college campus isn't sunshine and rainbows all the time," says Jenna. She became tabloid fodder over typical college-kid hijinks, but after one incident prompted Jenna to call her father to apologize, he cut her off: "No, I'm sorry," he said. "We promised you normalcy, and this is not normal."

The Bushes have been protective of normalcy for the two First Daughters who followed them. Just before Trump's Inauguration, they wrote an open letter to Malia and Sasha Obama (published in TIME) wishing them luck in the next chapter of their lives. "It was a little bit of a battle cry," Jenna says. "It was like, 'Don't mess with them!'" The sentiment extends to 11-year-old Barron Trump. "I hope that people will give Barron the kindness that they would give their own little brothers or their own children," Jenna says. "Because he didn't ask his dad to run for President. So we're protective of him just as we were Malia and Sasha."

At other more private moments in the book, the sisters and their family are at their most intriguing

For a video interview, visit **time.com/bushsisters**



Jenna and Barbara grew up in Texas but called the White House home during college

Laura Bush has said she and George enjoyed having a baby each to hold

Of their dad, Jenna says, "The way that we show love to him is humor."

COURTESY OF THE BUSH FAMILY (2); DAVID WOO—SYGMA/GETTY IMAGES

and unfamiliar. Jenna shares an anecdote of their paternal grandmother, Barbara, writing a chastising letter about Jenna's unsportsmanlike behavior at a family tennis tournament. And Jenna gets very personal about the distance she felt from her mother when she was young: "My mother was a librarian and an only child—a combination that sometimes made it hard to relate to her point of view," she writes in the book. "When I was little, I was a daddy's girl. I didn't always understand my mom; more precisely, I didn't think she got me. We were too young and immature to consider how much my mother had wanted and wished for siblings of her own, to see how the bond between Barbara and me might have made her feel like an outsider." Now Jenna and her mother are very close, and co-authors of two children's books.

George W. Bush is depicted as a never-bumbling source of strength, as when Barbara went through a breakup and he checked in with her every day. Or when Jenna made a gaffe on-air during the 2017 Golden Globe Awards, mashing up the African-American-led films *Hidden Figures* and *Fences* to say "Hidden Fences." She woke up to a text from her father: "I hear the Twitter world is buzzing because of something you said. Here are some thoughts. It is no big deal. Your family loves you which is a lot more important than one slip. I made a lot of slips and overall they did not matter. The world is full of people who want to take someone down but there are many more people who think you are great. So let it go. Be your charming natural self. All will be well."

> 'I hope that people will give Barron the kindness that they would give their own little brothers or their own children.'
>
> **JENNA BUSH HAGER,** on her protective instinct toward Trump's 11-year-old son

THERE IS ONE STORY, more than any other, that seems especially painful to tell. When Barbara was in high school, she was rocked by the suicide of her boyfriend Kyle—"It was early days" for the relationship, she says, on the verge of tears. "Which is kind of the heartbreaking part of it too. In high school you sort of think, What if, what if, what if?" She was alarmed when someone told her that Catholics didn't believe you went to heaven if you committed suicide. "I am superstitious," she writes in the book. "Until I was 34, every wish that I ever made, on the flame of a birthday candle or on a star, was a wish that Kyle would go to heaven." Last year, she saw a healer and brought a photo of Kyle. "I didn't say anything, I didn't even tell her my name, I just showed the woman the photo. She looked at it and matter-of-factly said he had hanged himself in his closet. I started to cry, after all those years, in a recognition of having carried those memories for so long. She told me, 'He has followed you everywhere, and he's so proud of all that you've done. You've been all over the world and he's gotten to go on this journey with you.' Then she said, 'He says you can stop counting stars now.'" She had never told anyone about her wishes, but after this encounter, she told her sister.

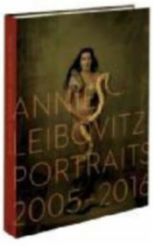
That Barbara was going through this as she and her family were on constant display is all the more heartbreaking—and eye-opening. What is happening in the deep heart's core of the Trump children? What stories will the Obama sisters tell when they are ready to step onto a new kind of stage? "We're now in a society where it's so easy to stereotype people and to create headlines via social media," Jenna says. "I think it's really important to get to know everyone's nuances and to have friends or siblings, like I have in my sister, see every side of me, the good and the bad and the part that nobody else sees, and lift that up." ◻

PHOTOGRAPHY

Annie Leibovitz on Stephen Hawking

Stephen Hawking, as far as I'm concerned, is timeless. Every now and then he says something that's deeply profound. Like, for example, that we should be looking at other planets to live on since we're destroying this one. The fact that there is someone who exists who can say something with that kind of power and meaning is very compelling. I'd been wanting to shoot him for some time, and I asked if I could. We worked in his house in Cambridge, England, putting up a canvas in his living room. A lot of people try to avoid the chair when they take his picture. But I didn't want to avoid the chair. I was interested in a more objective, more clinical view combined with his humanity. This is what his life is. But he is still very alert on top of it all. This photograph said everything I wanted to say about this mind. This very vivid, connected mind on top of this mountain, the body and the chair.

—As told to Alexandra Genova



Annie Leibovitz: Portraits 2005–2016 (Phaidon), a new collection of 150 portraits of some of the world's most influential people, shot by one of its most well-known photographers, is available now

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANNIE LEIBOVITZ

Q'orianka Kilcher The actor and activist on playing indigenous roles, embracing her mixed heritage and loving Shirley Temple

WHEN Q'ORIANKA KILCHER WAS A BUDDING ACTOR OF 6, an interviewer asked her what roles she dreamed of playing. She couldn't decide between her two heroes, so she named them both: Pocahontas and Hawaiian Princess Ka'iulani. By the time she was 19, she had played both.

At 27, Kilcher is adding another historical figure to her roster: storyteller and actor Mary Thompson Fisher, who became famous in the 1930s under the stage name Te Ata (Maori for "bearer of the morning"). A citizen of the Chickasaw Nation, her talents won her fans including President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who invited her to perform at his first state dinner.

> 'I'll never be the girl that sells Cheerios to somebody. And you know what? I think it's a great problem to have.'

In the new film *Te Ata,* financed by the Chickasaw Nation, Kilcher portrays her as a passionate cultural ambassador at a time when it was illegal even to dance a traditional Native American dance.

Like the real-life Te Ata, who was half German, Kilcher is of mixed heritage: her mother is Swiss-Alaskan and her father Peruvian. But that's not why Kilcher says she found a kindred spirit in the character. "What touched me most about Te Ata is not seeing your differences as a crutch," she says, "but rather as an advantage."

Early in her career, Te Ata attempted to find mainstream success, enduring countless Broadway auditions only to have doors slammed in a face that was never quite right for the part. It wasn't until she leaned in to her heritage that she found fame. Similarly, Kilcher has built a career by embracing indigenous stories. It's a path that has resulted in part from her desire to "highlight that part of American history people like to sweep under the rug." But it also stems from the challenges of being an actor with indigenous roots in an industry in which difference is often exoticized but less frequently celebrated. "It's been disheartening at times," she says. "I'm never native enough, and I'm never white enough."

To hear Kilcher describe her heritage is to envision a spinning globe: "I was born in Germany, raised in Hawaii, and my father is from Peru. I'm Quechua-Huachipaeri from the jungles and highlands of South America, and Swiss, Alaskan and French." Or, as she puts it, "I'm a little mutt." Kilcher was raised by her mother, a human-rights activist who speaks six languages. "I'm very proud of all of my roots," she says, beaming, and launches into the story of her great-grandfather, a Swiss immigrant who was one of the first Alaskan homesteaders and who helped write the state's constitution.

Growing up immersed in the arts, Kilcher idolized the Tejano pop star Selena (or at least, Jennifer Lopez's portrayal of her in the 1997 biopic) and Shirley Temple. Kilcher's first movie role was a Seussian Who in the 2000 adaptation of *How the Grinch Stole Christmas,* but she broke out five years later as a spirited Pocahontas in Terrence Malick's *The New World.* That film coincided with her emergence as an activist. She recalls walking into the offices of Amnesty International, telling staffers she had a movie coming out and asking what issues she could help highlight. She was 15 years old. Since then, she has worked with grassroots youth organizations in Peru and around the world, focusing on environmental and human-rights issues.

Kilcher's activism has informed the roles she takes. "I found when I was in Peru, there are a lot of young people that are ashamed to be indigenous," she says. In portraying women like Te Ata, she sees an opportunity to inspire them to "embrace what makes them unique and be proud to be indigenous."

Still, she hopes Hollywood is moving toward casting that's "based more on your work as an actor than the color of your skin." Kilcher just finished filming TNT's series *The Alienist,* based on Caleb Carr's 1994 novel. In the book, her character has blond hair and blue eyes. "When you're working in Hollywood, there is always that thing of, 'Oh, you can only go out for a native role,'" she says. "And they ended up casting me. I was just so grateful, because it's not often that it happens."

But her goal has never been to blend in. "The girl next door, it's never really been my thing," she says. "I'll never be the girl that sells Cheerios to somebody. And you know what?" Kilcher flashes a megawatt smile. "I think it's a great problem to have."

—ELIZA BERMAN

HOSTILE TERRITORY

Kilcher's next film is the period drama *Hostiles,* which won raves at the Telluride and Toronto film festivals. It follows an Army captain escorting a dying Cheyenne chief back to his tribal lands.

TASIA WELLS—GETTY IMAGES

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Bang in The Square: *as debonair as James Bond, but a lot more clueless*

MOVIES

From Sweden, a dazzling bit of trickery that goes off with a Bang

By Stephanie Zacharek

IT'S CHALLENGING ENOUGH TO MAKE A COMFORTABLE LIFE for yourself. How much are you supposed to care about the welfare of others, particularly people who have fallen through society's cracks?

There's no measurable answer to that question. Which is perhaps why, in wrestling with it, Swedish director Ruben Ostlund's caustically elegant satire *The Square* has no real ending. It does, however, have a beginning and quite a few terrific middles. The picture, winner of this year's Palme d'Or at Cannes, is ambitious and frustrating, teasing us into wanting to know exactly where it's going, only to slip away with a final shot that's barely a whisper. Yet its seductiveness is sublime. Instead of making you think—a tack that never works anyway—its way of thinking trails you, devilishly, out of the theater. It's a trickster in movie form.

Danish actor Claes Bang plays Christian, the suave, 50-ish chief curator of a Stockholm museum dedicated to out-there art. This tony institution is gearing up for a new exhibit, "The Square," whose chief feature is a strict arrangement of cobblestones accompanied by a plaque that reads, in part, THE SQUARE IS A SANCTUARY OF TRUST AND CARING. The exhibit is an invitation to ponder the nature of the social contract, and how on earth does an institution sell that?

Meanwhile, Christian faces a jumble of complicated work and personal affairs. After he helps a stranger on the street, he learns that his wallet, phone and cuff links have been expertly lifted. His quest to get his stuff back leads him to a low-income building in a part of town that's not nearly as nice as the one he lives in, and, eventually, to an angry young boy who sees everything that's hypocritical about him long before he does. Christian also navigates a chancy and sometimes hilarious liaison with an American journalist (a dazzling, rapturously offbeat Elisabeth Moss), whose demands throw him off his game.

ART AS AGGRESSION
The Square features a set piece by Terry Notary, the actor and movement choreographer who helped bring motion-capture characters to life in the *Hobbit* and *Planet of the Apes* movies. In the sequence, Notary plays a transgressive performance artist who literally attacks his audience.

The Square wouldn't work without an actor as dashing and appealing as Bang is: with his great, mildly snaggle-toothed smile, he makes Christian's numbness both funny and pathetic. This movie is more sprawling than Ostlund's last feature, the superb 2014 *Force Majeure,* but he's still an engaging mischief-maker. The title may in fact be a winking work of nonrepresentational art itself. A square has a defined border. The movie Ostlund has made is adamantly open-ended. There are no right angles and no right answers. ◻

THE SQUARE: MAGNOLIA PICTURES; CLARKSON: INVISION/AP/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

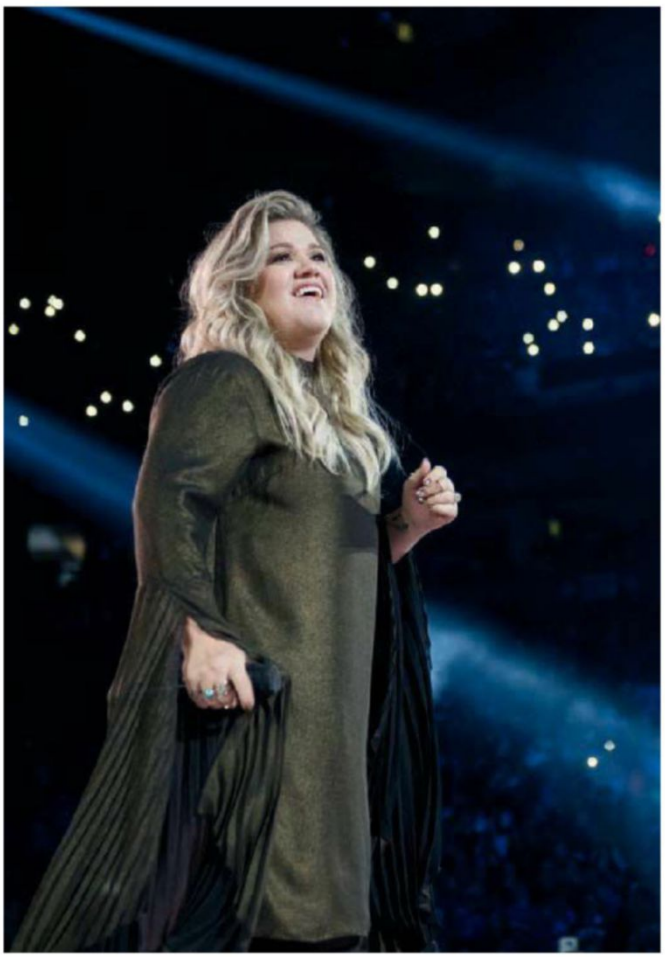
MUSIC

Kelly Clarkson: fun with soul

KELLY CLARKSON MAY ONCE have been America's singing Cinderella. But the 35-year-old is well past her fairy-tale beginning. Since winning the inaugural *American Idol* 15 years ago on the strength of her powerful pipes and candidly endearing persona, Clarkson hit snags in her career, including spats with her former record label. Not that it really shows on her eighth album, *Meaning of Life,* out now. Clarkson's debut with Atlantic Records finds her as fans prefer: a confident artist with a sense of humor and sass to spare.

"I'm a whole lotta woman, from the sound of my voice to the gloss on my lips," she and her backup vocalists rap-sing on the aptly titled "Whole Lotta Woman." "I'm a strong badass chick with class and confidence." That confidence lets Clarkson play joyfully in this collection of soulful anthems mixed with rollicking empowerment pop. She tapped hitmakers and long-term collaborators like producer and songwriter Greg Kurstin for this album. The result is slick and uniformly catchy, from the foot-stomping rhythm of "Medicine" to rich ballads like "Slow Dance." These are songs to play while getting ready for a night out with the girls—or while getting over an undeserving flame.

Clarkson was born in Texas and now lives in Nashville. She's always had a talent for shape-shifting, nimbly maneuvering into girl pop ("Breakaway") and rock hits ("Since U Been Gone").



Clarkson's career has taken turns, but her voice is as strong as ever

But *Meaning of Life*, with its take on country-influenced soul, seems like a truer fit.

FREE AT LAST
In 2016, Clarkson completed the contract she signed with RCA Records after winning *Idol. Meaning of Life* is her first album for Atlantic Records.

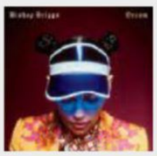
Whether it's on the upbeat lead single "Love So Soft" or in the tender falsettos of "Cruel," Clarkson's famous voice never falters. Plus, she sounds like she's having fun. "After all that I've been through, nothing left to prove," she sings on "I Don't Think About You." Ostensibly about a lover, the emotional ballad also serves as a kiss-off to any lingering haters: "I love the woman that I became." In a way, it's a semi-sequel to "Since U Been Gone." Kelly Clarkson came onto the national music scene a survivor, and a survivor she has stayed.

—RAISA BRUNER

Soul's rising voices

These artists are also incorporating soul's sounds into their preferred genres:

PROJECT 11
Jorja Smith
Rising U.K. star Jorja Smith's voice is expressively rich and fluid, a feature that is evident on her 2016 debut EP and ensuing singles. She's featured on rapper Drake's latest mixtape, *More Life,* twice.



BISHOP BRIGGS
Bishop Briggs
Layering her darkly alluring voice over trap beats and emotive acoustic melodies, the London-born Bishop Briggs brings soulful gravitas to infectious, stripped-down pop ballads on her self-titled debut EP.

FREUDIAN
Daniel Caesar
Canadian singer-songwriter Daniel Caesar finds a sweet spot between R&B and soul. His 2017 album is filled with gospel-backed slow jams, and his honeyed voice is like a warm embrace.

"A calm and modest life brings more happiness than the pursuit of success combined with constant restlessness." **A handwritten note on happiness that Albert Einstein gave to a bellboy in Japan in 1922 sold for $1.56 million** at an auction in Jerusalem.

Julia Louis-Dreyfus announced that **she finished her second round of chemotherapy for breast cancer** with the help of some lyrics from Katy Perry's inspirational song "Roar."

DJ Khaled **celebrated his son Asahd's first birthday with a *Lion King*–inspired party** featuring a real tiger cub.

'I cried at the end.'

KIT HARINGTON, actor, revealing that he shed tears during the script read-through for the final season of *Game of Thrones*

LOVE IT / LEAVE IT

***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

A Canadian man was given a $118 ticket by police, who said he was screaming in public—a violation in Montreal—while **singing C+C Music Factory's "Gonna Make You Sweat (Everybody Dance Now)"** in his car.

An **Italian runner won the Venice marathon for the first time in 22 years** after the race's front runners were led in the wrong direction for several hundred meters by a motorcycle guide.

Japanese instant-ramen company Nissin is **releasing a $130 noise-canceling fork** that is meant to mask the sound of noodle slurping.

People are **using the hashtag #JusticeForJanet to protest the NFL's invitation to Justin Timberlake to headline the 2018 Super Bowl halftime show;** his 2004 performance ended with him exposing Janet Jackson's nipple in an infamous "wardrobe malfunction."

GETTY IMAGES (8)

By Megan McCluskey

To solve my social anxiety, I had to confront why I became a writer in the first place

By Joel Stein

SURPRISINGLY, A LOT OF REPORTERS HAVE SOCIAL ANXIETY. Although it's actually not all that surprising when you consider how nerdy and awkward all the kids were at your high school newspaper. And how those who didn't blossom then spent nights editing college papers. And how those who didn't gain confidence are now professionals high-fiving each other every time an actor or a politician agrees to talk to them.

My social anxiety manifests in having trouble asking other people for things, which is a problem because I really like when people give me things. I have asked only one woman out on a date in my entire life, and it was with the less-than-perfect pickup line, "Do you go on dates?" When I need to get a quote from someone in a crowd, I will stand there for hours, waving a special brand of notebook I buy online that says REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK on the cover, hoping that a potential interview subject will approach to tell me to stop waving the notebook.

Then I found out about the Liebowitz Social Anxiety Scale, a test that I put off taking for two months because I was scared. When I finally answered the questions, however, I quickly became reassured that I'm normal. One question asked if I'm afraid of "urinating in a public bathroom." Another asked if I was afraid of taking tests, a question that also appears on the Liebowitz Irony Scale. After breezing through those questions, I was pretty surprised when I indeed scored a solid "moderate social phobia." This was clearly limiting my social and professional life, so I went to see Greg Cason, a Beverly Hills psychologist who specializes in anxiety treatments and was on Bravo's *L.A. Shrinks.*

AT OUR SESSION, Cason said that I indeed practiced avoidance, often "giving a message that's more of a hint than an actual message," a tactic that non-Americans call "politeness." Before I left, he said he was giving me an assignment. I panicked, thinking he was going to ask me to run for public office, haggle with a used-car salesperson or watch *L.A. Shrinks.* But all he wanted me to do was compliment six strangers over the next six weeks. This seemed ridiculously easy. "I tell lots of women that I like their shoes," I said. "Though I figure that that implies I'm gay, so it doesn't seem like confrontation. And then I mention my wife, so they know I'm not hitting on them." Cason sighed deeply and told me to approach three men and three women, to not mention my wife and to live with the discomfort of not knowing whether people think I'm a shoe fetishist.

Even with those restrictions, I knew I'd knock off all six people that day. Unfortunately, six weeks went by without a single opportunity. The day of the deadline, I circled the inside of a coffee shop until a guy near me complimented a woman on her shoes, which she appreciated. I left the café, returned a few minutes later and walked up to the same woman and gave her the exact same shoe compliment while playing with my wedding ring, which went well. Flooded with confidence, I spent two hours walking around until I found four people with hats I could compliment, since people who wear hats are the kind of people who seem to be begging for attention.

FOR A SECOND ASSIGNMENT, Cason wanted me to initiate sex with my wife, which is something I leave to her, since she has a 100% success rate. More difficult, he also asked me to confront my father, who I felt could improve as a grandfather. I waited until I was alone in the house and paced my hallway as I asked my dad over the phone to send my son Laszlo gifts and cards. My dad said this was a great idea. When I called Cason to tell him about my incredible hat compliments and grandpa shaming, he was impressed. When I pressed him for a specific numerical evaluation, he said I'm a 7 out of 10 in social anxiety but that I'd developed an effective coping mechanism.

That coping mechanism, of course, is typing. While others get into journalism for reasons such as holding the powerful accountable, I just wanted to hide behind a keyboard while being safely employed in a stable industry, because journalists know nothing about business. I stayed in because waving a notebook in the air is indeed a great way to get people to talk to you. And putting your photo in the corner of your articles is a great way to increase the odds of people walking up to you at parties instead of having to walk up to them. Otherwise, I spend the whole time looking down at people's shoes. ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX EBEN MEYER FOR TIME

Wendell Berry The writer, activist and farmer on his new book, *The Art of Loading Brush,* and the future of American land

You talk about a new generation of "homecomers." What does that mean? By homecomer, I mean somebody who's gone away and come back to the farm or to the local community. To rural America. Somebody who followed the universal advice that they couldn't amount to anything where they grew up and have gone away and have found reason to come back. I visited a cheese co-op in Vermont. The members were not getting rich, but you could say they were thriving or prospering in a modest way, which would be quite enough if everybody were doing that.

What do you say to environmentalists who believe it would be better for more people to live in cities? The more people who live in cities, the fewer there are who have knowledge of what I'm calling the economic landscapes. So that's the wrong way to get a lobby for better land care. There's nobody lobbying for the best use of farming and forest and mining landscapes. This has been a kind of sore point with me for a long time. You have to understand, I've been at this for more than 50 years, and my allies and I have done no good. For land use and land maintenance in those economic landscapes, we have done no good. We've not ever been able to put any meaningful restraints on the coal industry. They've done what they wanted to do. So-called farming has become increasingly dependent on toxic chemicals. There's still too much soil erosion.

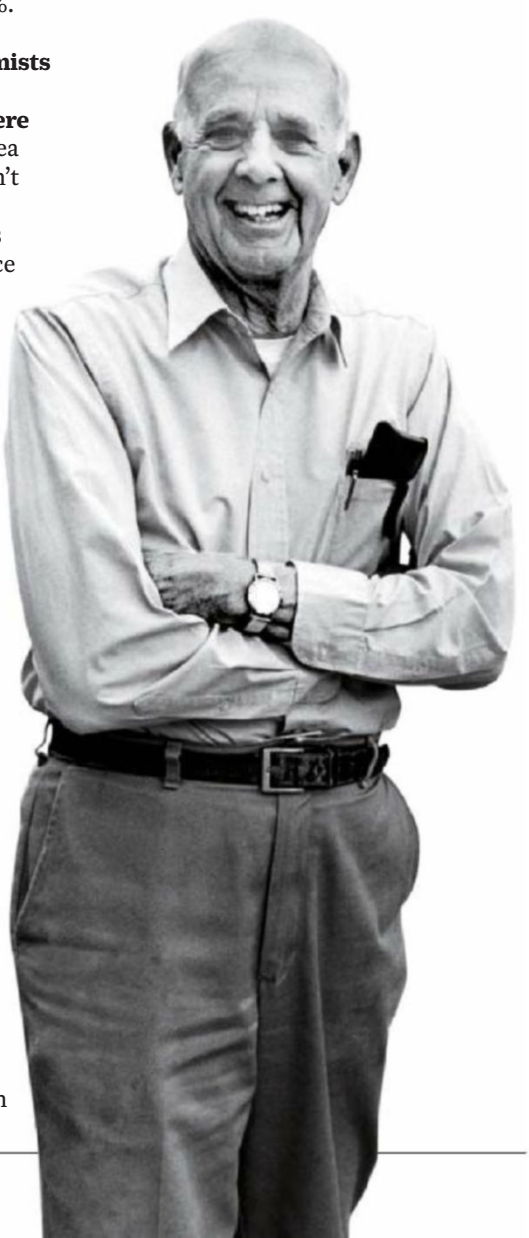
Why are farmers suffering? The problem is surplus production. As long as they remain solvent and their farms remain productive, there's no way farmers can stop themselves from overproducing without help from the government.

Your wife says your principal asset as a writer has been your "knack for repeating yourself." Why keep repeating yourself? Because things aren't improving out here in this newly discovered rural America. Actually, it was discovered a long time ago by the Republicans and the corporations—the Democrats had forgotten it for quite a long time, and they've just rediscovered it. Forty years ago, I wrote a book called *The Unsettling of America.* The tragedy of that book is that it's still pertinent. If it had gone out of print because of irrelevance, it would have been a much happier book. In 1977, I thought that the farming population was at a disastrous low. Now it's somewhere below 1%.

Your main concern with economists is that they think commodities can always come from somewhere else. This has been a dominant idea throughout our history: if you don't have it here, you can get it from somewhere else. If you use up this commodity here, you can't produce it here anymore, you've worn out the possibility here, get it from somewhere else. Or if you're short of labor or you're too good for certain kinds of labor, go to Africa and get some slaves. That recourse has haunted us, has plagued us to death.

What's growing on your farm these days? Grass and trees. We have just handed over our ewe flock and the use of our pastures to some neighbors to increase the production capacity of their flock and their pastures. Our farming operation is pretty much reduced. We're experiencing the expectable reduction of strength and endurance. We had a big garden when the children were young and we were young and strong. We raised virtually everything we ate. We had poultry and two milk cows, and we fattened two meat hogs every year, and a calf, and grew the big garden. It's extremely gratifying to sit down to a meal you've grown every bit of. —SARAH BEGLEY

> 'We had poultry and two milk cows, and we fattened two meat hogs every year. It's extremely gratifying to sit down to a meal you've grown every bit of.'



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